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BALTIMORE

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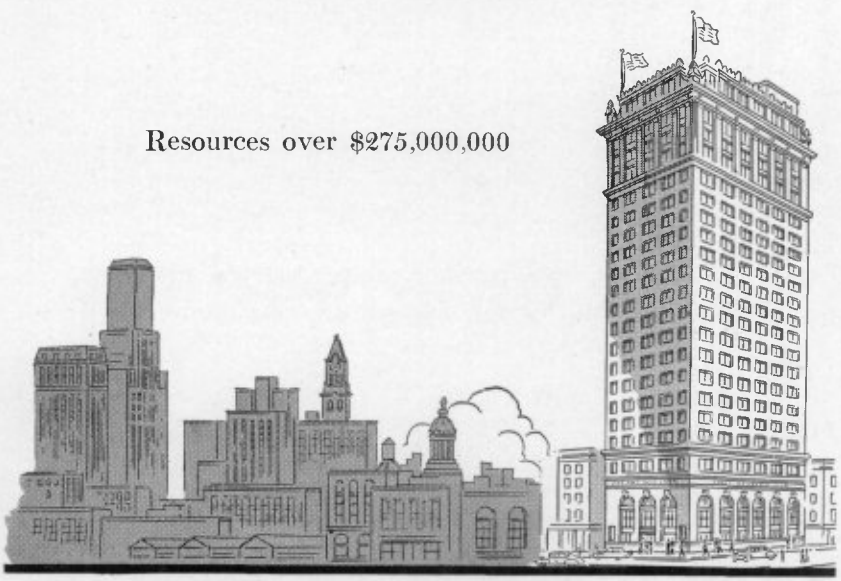

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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SOME INFLUENCES OF POETRY UPON THE COURSE OF HISTORY *

By ADRIENNE CECILE RICH

WHEN I was asked, some days ago, to read some of my poems here [1] and to discuss briefly some influences of poetry upon history, I realized that the subject offered many avenues of thought and treatment. Before we try to view some of these influences, I think we must begin by admitting at once that a list of poems that have altered the course of history would not prove impressive in length. Of course there have been patriotically inspired poems, written for a cause, which have illuminated the issues of historical crisis, and in capturing men's imaginations have stirred them to act. Here in Maryland we are the inheritors of two such poems: Francis Scott Key's "Star-Spangled Banner," and our own State song, "Maryland, My Maryland," the words of which turned a German folk-carol into a martial and defiant

[1] Address delivered before a joint meeting of the Maryland Historical Society and the English-Speaking Union on September 18, 1952.

anthem. Those two poems grew from and have remained a part of our national and State history, and beside them we may place Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic," written during the Civil War, at the suggestion of a friend, to the tune of "John Brown's Body." Certainly in all countries in times of political stress the emotions of men have been played upon to no small effect by the beat of rhythm and the ring of words. We find the poet William Butler Yeats looking back, in his last years, upon his career in the days of the Irish Revolution, and writing,

> Did that play of mine send out
> Certain men the English shot? [2]

as if the poet himself felt troubled by the weight of his responsibility as a man with the gift of arousing other men to action.

But I think we are limiting ourselves if, in this discussion, we think of history only in terms of political events, battles, and the signing of treaties. Poetry has had some say in these episodes, at least as a means of crystallization, as a spotlight turned on a cause or a struggle. But it is not in the nature of poetry that it should have influenced history as prose rhetoric has done. Oratory, if only because it can reach hundreds or thousands of hearers simultaneously, and work directly upon their immediate emotions, has a double life: In its best sense, it is both an art and a political instrument. If it fails to accomplish its practical purpose it is to some degree a failure as an art; if it is insufficiently an art, it may fail as a practical instrument. And throughout history we see the orator moving and swaying the course of events, from Pericles in Athens to Churchill in the Battle of Britain.

Poetry cannot, I am saying, lay claim to just this kind of influence. For one thing, it reaches men in a different way: It is read by individual people at their individual times and places, not always at the collective rallying-point or the moment of greatest urgency. Then, too, poetry can rarely remain itself, and be true to its own principles, when it is composed chiefly in order to work some particular alteration in a state of events. It may have its germ in the soil of contemporary issues, but, more often than not, it fails when it is allowed to become primarily an instrument for a purpose outside itself.

[2] W. B. Yeats, *Collected Poems* (New York, Macmillan, 1951), p. 393. Quoted with permission of the Macmillan Company.

Poetry is, of course, always concerned with creating states of mind and heart, and with modifying the vision of its readers; with communicating a conviction, and, very often, with expressing the sense of an age or a society. And this brings me to the wider sense in which poetry has influenced the history of man—a sense, I believe, more fundamental and more lasting than the effect of any single poem on any single historical moment.

Some of this is recognized by Plato in his *Republic*, when he discusses education in the ideal state, and criticizes the poets, including Homer, for certain passages in their works, including several which seem to evoke a too-terrifying idea of life after death, in the Underworld. He says:

> We must beg Homer and the other poets not to be angry if we strike out these and similar passages, not because they are unpoetical, or unattractive to the popular ear, but because the greater the poetical charm of them, the less are they meet for the ears of boys and men who . . . should fear slavery more than death. [Book III, 387]

Moreover, the poets have described certain unworthy kinds of behavior on the part of gods and heroes. In the Platonic dictatorship, it is decided,

> the poets . . . [are] to be required . . . to express the image of the good in their works, on pain, if they do anything else, of expulsion from the State. [Book III, 401]

Evidently poetry can be dangerous to a ruler who is trying to inculcate certain ideas, and weed out others, among his subjects. We have, of course, seen this attitude toward poetry, and toward literature as a whole, exercised in the dictatorships of our own time. "The greater the poetical charm," indeed, the more likely are the ideas contained in poetry to become potent in forming the minds of its readers.

For poetry acts on the human mind and heart in a number of ways, of which we are often but dimly conscious. Through rhythm, it speaks to an innate element of man's being, and sets up an emotive state, whether melancholy, martial, satirical, or celebratory. Through rhythm and rhyme together it creates patterns of expectation, suspense and fulfillment, which carry the reader along with them. And to poetry is granted a latitude in expression which is denied to prose speech; poetry is capable of sus-

taining a richness of image, a fullness of sound, which in prose might seem mere hyperbole. Poetry is a medium for language at its impassioned pitch, not kicking over the traces and galloping off into the whirlwind, but held within a discipline of form, whether that form consist of meter, rhyme, stanza-pattern, or all three. From the tension between passionate expression and controlling form comes a tremendous emotional power, and poets from the beginning have known this and have chosen to submit to the discipline.

Poetry has, then, certain unique and powerful ways of playing on the mind and heart. But what has all this to do with history?

In its largest sense, history is the account of what things, tangible or intangible, men have considered worth struggling for and worth trying to perpetuate. It is a volume upon whose every page appear and reappear certain motivations, as varied and as mutually conflicting as power, freedom, law and order, beauty, piety, luxury, justice, truth, wealth, fame, peace, and honor. It is surely not for me to tell the members of this audience, but rather merely to agree with them, that one of the reasons why history is so exciting a study is that, more than any other field of knowledge, it is concerned with what, in the past, has excited men; what perennial or passing desires, purposes and needs have made them willing to go to war or to prison, work at apparently hopeless tasks, struggle with one another or with themselves, suffer physical indignity and mental lacerations, lie awake at night, and face the fear of death and the unknown. What, asks history, has moved men to the point of action—and of action so emphatic that it has shown up large in the crowded text of time?

Now, the concern of poetry has, from its beginnings, lain in just these things. Poetry began with a bard, reciting to his hearers in some metrical or alliterative pattern the traditional exploits of gods and heroes and the legendary fathers of the race. These oral epics were handed down through we know not how many generations, by constant repetition. The reciting or chanting of the poet was not merely a luxury or a polite entertainment; it was the glowing hearthstone of a culture. The cold black emptiness of winter night and the physical discomforts or dangers of the day could alike be forgotten while hearing of heroism in battle, of dragons and magic, of warriors at their banquets, and the building of great ships. Most important of all, however, the epic was a

means of preserving the ideals of a society, giving dignity and authority to those attributes and possessions considered most worth attaining. The Anglo-Saxon epic *Beowulf* illustrates in its episodes not only the conduct of a perfect king, but the ideal relationship between master and retainer, and the qualities most to be praised in a young warrior making his way in the world. If the prowess to win gold or treasures, or shrewdness in dealing with supernatural enemies, are regarded as important and desirable, so also are less worldly gifts: Beowulf is described as "strong in might, prudent in mind, and wise of words . . . his heart was not savage, but he, brave in battle, kept with the greatest self-control of mankind the ample gift which God had given him." And in the Greek *Odyssey*, whatever we (or Plato!) may think of the petty squabbling of the immortals on Olympus, there is the dignity of Odysseus as a man, the loyalty and patience of Penelope as a wife, the tact, graciousness and courage of Nausicaa, the young princess, which have been handed down with the purely narrative aspects of the poem as embodiments of certain ideals of human behavior.

Poetry has at no time since, probably, held quite such a place in its own right, as in that period of oral literature. It was then *the* intellectual and spiritual entertainment, *the* source and repository of ideals and of example for the race. In the Middle Ages, poetry was a strong influence in crystallizing the flowering of that complex, highly idealistic, and very explicit code of knightly behavior, with the traditions of courtly love and of the necessary virtues for a true knight or lover. These are to be found in the legends of King Arthur, the romance of Sir Gawain, the French *Roman de la Rose*, with its embodiments of such attributes as Chastity, Pity, Shame, and so forth. And this tradition was carried on into the English Renaissance by Edmund Spenser in his long poem, *The Faerie Queene,* which was written to celebrate the glories of Queen Elizabeth and her age, and also to set forth the ideal virtues which should inspire her knights and courtiers.

But I do not wish to give the impression that the most profoundly influential poetry has been merely didactic or moralizing in its nature. A former Professor of Poetry at Oxford, H. W. Garrod, has remarked that intentionally didactic poetry, poetry of a self-conscious and narrow moral preaching, is *not* didactic; "there is nothing to be learned from it," he declares; but he goes

on to say that the non-didactic poet is "the interpreter, vexed often and hesitant, but still the only present interpreter, of a creation groaning and travailing after its proper meaning."[3] From the time when poetry ceased to be the cumulative collaboration of many generations of bards and became the voices of individual men, each speaking in its own accent, we have had to learn to read and interpret it as individuals. And this has modified in several ways the manner in which poetry has expressed to us, as individuals, feelings and perceptions which we recognize and grasp more clearly through this medium.

In Chaucer's poetry, for instance, we find many of the old romance-figures—the knight, the squire, the lovely lady; but no longer are they presented as types of an ideal or mouthpieces for certain virtues. Here, suddenly, is a poetry in which there is great discrimination and individuality: nobody is utterly pure, utterly villainous, but all the shadings that we find in life are to be found here. Sometimes, as in the rollicking "Sir Thopas," Chaucer reduces to absurdity the mediaeval standardization of the courtly knight; and his Criseyde, instead of being the idealized and pedestalled lady for whom the lovers in the romances yearned, is one of the most complex, contradictory, and realistic women of poetry or fiction. But what are the things which Chaucer celebrates and finds exciting? Life itself: the endless variation of men's manners and faces, the broad panorama of humanity, high and low, as seen on the Canterbury pilgrimage; and skill at any trade or art, be it drinking or sermonizing, archery or storytelling. Chaucer has been cited as a poet who deals very little with the historical events going on around him, the Black Death, the Hundred Years' War, and so forth; but his poetry illuminates the upsurge of gusto, curiosity and independence of spirit which was later to grow into the English Renaissance; it is there in his lusty churls, his wilful women, and in such dry comments as that of the Shipman in the *Canterbury Tales,* who tells of a merchant

"That riche was, for which men held him wys."

That Shakspere's plays are poetry is hardly debatable; and that they are plays, which from their birth have never ceased to be acted while the theatres were open at all, is important. It is im-

[3] *The Profession of Poetry* (New York, Oxford, 1929), p. 10. Quoted with permission of the Oxford University Press.

portant because lines, phrases, passages, allusions from Shakspere are constantly travelling through our contemporary air, like the motes of atmospheric dust, thicker than we realize, and daily crystallizing and influencing the small, individual thoughts and feelings which in their great totals are called history. If the war-like passages from *Henry V* raised the pride and patriotic fervor of the English in the reign of Elizabeth, they were no less meaningful and effective when spoken to the English of the 1940's from a cinema screen. Scholars may argue as to whether or not Polonius' advice to Laertes is intended as a satiric piecing-together of old men's saws; while they argue, nearly every line of that speech is being quoted somewhere as part of our racial inheritance, the prudence and wisdom of our fathers. This is poetry which is woven into our history as English-speaking people; we can hardly begin to assess in how many ways it has given expression to our dimly-fathomed thought, and stirred us to excitement over issues that did not die with the Elizabethan age. Consistently as Shakspere has been acted, he has been read, as a poet, by millions more than have seen his plays produced; and his effect on us who speak his language begins before we know what poetry is.[4]

In the 19th century, when much looked hopeful that we now distrust, and poets like Wordsworth, Byron, Coleridge, and Shelley were inhaling the air of revolution and breathing it into their writings, Shelley made his enthusiastic claim for poets as "the unacknowledged legislators of the world." Perhaps today we are less confident of the issues of legislation and revolution; and certainly Shelley's phrase does not help us much to know just how poetry can legislate the world. My own opinion is, that poetry is as far from legislation as from medicine; it is not going to put order into our lives any more than it will cure us of disease. It does not proceed by fiat and category; it will, in fact, often disturb our accustomed categories and upset the fiats of everyday existence. It has throughout history been the very nature of poetry that it should cause us to see the ordinary from a new and perhaps a troubling point of view; that it should show us connections between things that to our habitual modes of thought seemed unrelated; that it should stir us from our daily clichés and make us hear clearly the expression of what our own minds, perhaps,

[4] All this can with equal truth be said of the poetry of the King James version of the Bible.

were vaguely trying to articulate. Poetry, if it serves us at all, will demand that we pause and examine, that we *see anew*, and that our thinking and, indirectly, our action are thus modified.

It is interesting that one of the most powerful figures in 20th century poetry, T. S. Eliot, has attached high importance to history, both as a philosophic study and as a source of richness and contrast in art. He has said in one of his major essays, "Tradition and the Individual Talent":

> The historical sense . . . we may call nearly indispensable to any one who would continue to be a poet beyond his twenty-fifth year; and the historical sense involves a perception, not only of the pastness of the past, but of its presence . . . The poet . . . is not likely to know what is to be done unless he lives in what is not merely the present, but the present moment of the past; unless he is conscious, not of what is dead, but of what is already living.[5]

In many of his poems Eliot has tried to create a sense of the past as simultaneous with the present, mingling images and allusions from classic, mediaeval or Renaissance times with the idiom and images of the 20th century. Perhaps one of the reasons why Eliot is sometimes felt to be obscure and unintelligible lies in his tendency to let the historian override the poet. His allusions and quotations are often recognizable only to scholarly experts, and require more specialized background, many feel, than a poet has the right to demand in his readers. In drawing on the historical past, however, the greatest poets have given a new significance to the present, setting it in relation to other ages, and expressing something of the continuity of flowing time, as well as its disintegrations.

Surely the years between World War I and the present have given rise to a great need for the perspective and generalization afforded by history. Sometimes, looking back wistfully on remoter centuries, we have the sense of living on an island, cut off from other generations by the unique experiences of modern war, of science and social upheaval and all the pressures of a complexity that seem to be ours alone. To be alive in the mid-20th century can be a lonely business unless we can somehow renew our contact with the great mainland of the past, forage there for supplies, find there reassurance that some, at least, of our terrors are not so unique, and, above all, that great creativeness has persisted even

[5] *Selected Essays* (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1932), pp. 4, 11. Quoted with permission of Harcourt, Brace and Company.

through periods of great doubt and destruction. Now, poetry is only one means by which we can approach history, and it is at best only an indirect means. But I think it is important that a historical sense is again beginning to be urged by poets writing today. Only the other day I opened a new volume by the English poet Louis MacNiece, and read:

> Pride in your history is pride
> In living what your fathers died,
> Is pride in taking your own pulse
> And counting in you someone else.[6]

We need history today, and the poets, perhaps particularly, realize it, both as individuals and as members of a community of human beings at a difficult moment in the life of man.

How much of a force will poetry continue to be, in this age that is said to have "killed the adjective," and in which so many of us have been distracted from our bookshelves? That will depend alike on writers and on readers. There is a certain burden of proof at this point on the poet, a responsibility to keep silent until he has something to say, and then to say it in a manner that justifies his using poetry rather than prose. Outside of certain small cliques, few readers will have patience with dull poetry—and when I say "dull" I am thinking not only of conventionally trite poetry, but of poetry that sets out to be daringly original and surprising in form, and that when once unravelled proves to say nothing which can really arouse or stir the reader. Poetry ought to bring a new grasp on reality, to act as a prism-glass on the ordinary light of day, showing it in colors which we had not hitherto guessed. If poets today offer this to their readers, then they deserve to be heard by more than their present limited audience. And being heard will give them a greater impetus to speak, and to speak yet more eloquently. So there is also a responsibility on the part of those who care about poetry as readers, to go on reading what is written today, and tomorrow, in expectation of delight and of an intensified view of the world within and without, past and present. Robert Frost once said, "What do you write a poem for, anyway, except to see it mix with people's lives?" And what should we read a poem for, if not to have it mix with

[6] *Ten Burnt Offerings* (London, Faber and Faber, 1952), p. 16. Quoted with permission of Faber and Faber, Ltd., Publishers.

our lives, and give us new experiences and new ways of viewing experience? The course of history is a sum of what happens to the emotions and perceptions of separate individuals; whether their vision is constricted or wide-ranging, lazy or full of curiosity, easily satisfied with security and comfort or demanding a spiritual richness and challenge, this vision, writ large, will be reflected in the governments they choose, the institutions they create and destroy, the aspirations which form the keystone to their society. It is important for this vision that poetry mix with people's lives; and so long as it does, it will continue to influence human history.

SIR AUGUSTUS J. FOSTER IN MARYLAND

Edited by MARGARET KINARD LATIMER

"THE Profit of the Marylander must appear very great," wrote one genial Englishman early in the 19th century. Wealth pouring out of cultivated land, natural products turning into fabulous new goods, trade moving east and west—all this done by a strangely democratic breed; Sir Augustus J. Foster thus gave pause and asked himself, "What kind of people are these Marylanders; what are they accomplishing here?"

During Foster's first visit to the United States as secretary to British Minister Anthony Merry from 1804 to 1807 and when he returned as the British representative from 1811 to 1812, he traveled in and out of Maryland from his headquarters in Washington. He became particularly well acquainted with those of the Federalist gentry who were also active in the social circles of the Federal Capital. Foster found the old aristocratic Annapolis more externally attractive than the amazingly progressive commercial center at Baltimore, but he soon realized that almost all Marylanders pleased him; he hastened to note that even the back-country folk were polite and respectful. Foster may be cited among the more unusual early English visitors, because he *liked* Americans—not everything they did, for he observed with a sharp eye, but he recognized the merits in the new country and only on rare occasions did preconceived English ideas cloud his unusually sound and reliable picture of America.

Foster did look askance at some of the American innovations in government and institutions, and he frowned at aspects of Maryland too—at the state's newly-initiated voting privileges, at the plight of the Anglican clergy, at unlearned customs in the back country. And one typically British attitude that he did not escape was a dislike for American hotel accomodations and modes

of travel; the stage coaches with "formidable" drivers offered "filthiness" and many "disagreeable Companions." He preferred to ride horseback as he toured the Maryland countryside.

The British diplomat was careful to investigate the natural scenes as well as the people, and always, whether registering approval or criticism, he was genuinely interested in seeing America. The coastal region of Maryland abounded in luxuriant foliage which caught the observant eye of the visitor. The mountain country, however, impressed him not at all except that the land everywhere seemed universally rich. Since Foster's closest affinity was with the well-to-do he became much excited by the large estates. Constantly enthusiastic over opportunities for gain in both agriculture and business, he spoke with pride of Maryland as he illustrated and emphasized a discovery for his less informed countrymen: Even in this new land were many "Instances of Men of Property and good Family." Foster noted the growth and progress, however, of all strata of society, and he readily satisfied himself that these Marylanders were developing a prosperous region.

The following is a portion of Augustus J. Foster's "Notes on the United States" which he wrote from his diaries and other memoranda some years after his visit to America. Two copies of the manuscript "Notes" are available in this country, one at the Henry E. Huntington Library, and the other at the Library of Congress. A small portion of the "Notes" was published in the *Quarterly Review* in 1841; a much larger section including Foster's intimate view of Washington political circles during Jefferson's and Madison's administrations appeared in the *William and Mary Quarterly,* January, 1951, and April, 1952. *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* in October, 1951, printed Foster's narrative of tours through that state, and at the present Mr. Richard Beale Davis of the University of Tennessee is engaged in editing all the Foster papers for book publication. Thanks are due to the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress for the use of this unpublished account of Foster's visit to Maryland.

Maryland does not seem to have increased the Number of Her Representatives in Congress of late years for they were Nine in 1812 and still appear to be but nine.[1] This was one of the old original Aristocratic

[1] Foster wrote the "Notes" about 1830-1835.

States whose names tell us of their having been founded by Royalty. Queen Mary and Queen Anne were here the Rivals of Queen Elizabeth, the Patroness of Virginia, as King George was of King Charles further South. The chief Mart for Commerce took its Denomination from Lord Baltimore whose Descendants, the Calverts, still possess considerable Property within this State, and whose Livery, black and orange, is pointed out to you by any old Farmer you may meet with in the Plumage of a beautiful Bird called after him the Baltimore [Oriole] Bird, something between a Starling and a Crow, to be found in the open Fields. Lord Baltimore's legitimate Heir, Mr Harford, did not, however, escape as well as others of the Family, his house having been confiscated at Annapolis and made into the Seat of Government for which from its Size it was well adapted.[2]

The Governor is elected by joint Ballot of the Houses and receives £1000 per an[num] Maryland Currency, or 3666 dollars.

This State like its Neighbour Virginia was originally a very aristocratic State but tho the Upper Classes have great Pretensions to family Honour, the Government is in the Hands of Democrats and therefore, while they make Helots of the Negroes, the Marylanders have enacted that every White Man, of age and a Citizen, shall have a right to vote, provided he have been Resident for a Twelvemonth within the Limits of the State.[3]

According to the Registration made by order of the United States in 1791, Maryland is 134 miles long and 110 broad, contains about 12000 square miles and was at that Time peopled by 319,728 Inhabitants.

The Elections are all decided in one Day throughout this State: Treating is allowed of before the Day of Election but not on the day itself, though I was assured that some years previously Booths were permitted to be opened on the very day.

From the Election being carried on in one and the same day at different Places a Candidate may be calumniated with Impunity on the Hustings where he is not present, and it has happened to a Gentleman to be wrongfully accused of being at the Head of revolted Negroes at the very Time of the Election, when the accusation was believed in from the Impossibility of his being present to defend himself: it is obvious, however, that such a Manouvre could only succeed for once and that

[2] Henry Harford, illegitimate son of Frederick, last of the Barons Baltimore, was the last Calvert proprietor. Dispossessed of his property during the Revolution, he applied to the Maryland Assembly in 1783 for repossession, but the Assembly in formal resolutions justified confiscation. Matthew Page Andrews, *History of Maryland* (Garden City, N. Y., 1929), pp. 292, 377-378.

Apparently Foster refers to the Government House, official residence of Maryland governors from 1753 to 1869. Purchased by the Governor, Robert Eden, from Edmund Jennings, the house was confiscated early in the Revolution. It was purchased for use by the Naval Academy in the 1860s and served as the Academy library until razed in 1901. The present Bancroft Hall stands on the site.

[3] Amendment to the Maryland State Constitution, 1801. *Ibid.*, p. 409.

a Refutation of it would be more likely to throw discredit on the Calumniators than the Calumniated.

Mr Key[4] gave me a description of an Election for Congress in which he was the Successful Candidate: They were two and they were both invited to a Barbecue for the Purpose of being heard: The Pig of Schote was placed, as usual, over a hole with a fire in it, split up so as not to cut thro the Skin of the Back, thro which the animal was roasted, and Kept continually basted till it was sufficiently done when it became extremely delicate eating: married Ladies and Girls were of the Party and the Candidates delivered their orations sometimes mounted on the Stump of a Tree and sometimes on a Beer Barrel. Magruder,[5] Key's opponent talked of his Blood being allied nearly to the whole District and insisted that he was therefore naturally the fittest Person to represent and maintain their Interests, but Key retorted that if the Question were about a Steed that argument might be good. It was not, however, in Discussion which of the two, he or this Rival, were of the best Breed, but which would make the best Member of Congress, when the Head was more worthy to be considered than the Blood, and he was accordingly preferred: after this they joked and flirted and danced till one oClock in the Morning.

The State of Maryland, which at the Commencement of this Century was justly entitled to the Credit of being governed by some of the most respectable and fittest Persons in the Union, was, nevertheless, suffering some few years afterwards under, perhaps, the meanest and the worst, who had become notorious for Shabbiness and bad Faith, as Instances of which I was told the following Facts:—Several Gentlemen having subscribed together for the Purpose of building a College at Annapolis, had petitioned the Legislature for support of their Plan, and an arrangement was agreed to in Consequence of which the Expence of the Building being borne by the Subscribers, the Funds for supporting the Institution were to be supplied by the State: an act was passed to that Effect, the subscribers performed their Part and the College was in a flourishing Condition, when by a Change of Parties some foreigners and low People got into Power, repealed the act, and withdrawing the Funds left the Owners of the Building to their Bricks and bare walls, alleging publickly for a Pretext that the People by whom the Funds were to be furnished, could not from the Expensiveness of the Establishment have their Children educated in it.[6]

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[4] Philip Barton Key, Federalist Representative from Maryland, 1807-1813. *Dictionary of American Biography*, X, 363.

[5] Patrick Magruder (1768-1819), a member of the House of Representatives from 1805 to 1807, Clerk of the House and Librarian of Congress (1807-1815). See *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949* (1950), p. 1493, and Edward S. Delaplaine, *Francis Scott Key, Life and Times* (1937), pp. 48-50.

[6] In 1784 the Legislature provided funds to found St. John's College at Annapolis. In 1806 the State appropriations were withdrawn and the College remained in a languishing condition until the funds were restored in 1811. Foster's visit coincided with this period of distress. Elihu S. Riley, *A History of Annapolis* (Annapolis, 1887), p. 213.

Another Fact was related to me respecting those liberal Democrats still less to their Credit as honest Men—The British Government contrary to all Expectation, with that almost Romantic and Scrupulous Love of Justice which has hitherto ever distinguished it, tho they might have fairly retaliated for the Iniquity with which Lord Cateret's and Mr Penn's Heirs had been treated as well as the Heirs of Lord Baltimore, yet, looking only to their own Character and Dignity, consented to give up a Sum of £200,000 which lay in the British Funds and had belonged to the old Government of Maryland: Bills like Treasury Bills had been circulating upon this Money for some Time previously, during the War, and were very much depreciated, nevertheless the Holders were the Persons entitled to the Benefit, and were so considered in a Proclamation calling upon them to send in the Bills, within a reasonable Period: the new Government however which just then were elected were no sooner installed in their offices than they curtailed the Period allowed for the operation and limited the Time for presenting the Bills so that many thousands were not produced until it was too late—and the Affair became a Job with but little Benefit to the real Claimants, and on such occasions it is that Nations find out the bad Economy there is in employing low Persons of gross and envious dispositions, many of them Refugees from other Parts, instead of Gentlemen of Property and Education who have different Compass to steer by than that of some paltry Jealousy or the mere love of Lucre.[7]

The Church of Rome used to be the Predominant Church of this State, and possessed 60,000 acres of Land within its Boundaries, the superintending Management of which was entrusted to the different Priests of their respective Parishes. The Archbishop, who is Primate of the whole Continent, resided at Baltimore; The Dignity was held some years back by Dr Carrol a very highly esteemed Gentleman who was of the order of Jesuits and had been consecrated by the Pope.[8] The Clergy of the Church of England were far from going in so flourishing a State, both R. Catholics and Independants having been much more impressed with the Importance of forming good Endowments for their Priests in the early Times of the Colonies than were the Anglicans, and consequently when the Revolution burst upon these and tore asunder their Connection with the Mother Country, the Incumbents had nothing to fall back upon but individual and precarious Subscription,—to favour which a Vestry is occasionally held, and the wants of their Parson are represented to his Parishioners, a book is carried round, and Persons in good Circum-

[7] See account of the Bank of England stock on which the State issued bills of credit J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), II, 504-505.

[8] John Carroll, first Roman Catholic bishop in the United States (1789), and first Archbishop of Baltimore (1808). *D. A. B.*, III, 526. (Carroll was consecrated bishop on August 15, 1790, in England. A bishop is not consecrated a second time when he becomes an archibishop, but he is invested with the pallium, the symbol of his office. The pallium comes from and is blessed by the Pope. In Carroll's case the pallium was brought by the British Minister [Foster] in 1811. Rev. Henry J. Browne, Catholic University of America, to Editor, October 10, 1952.)

stances generally put down their Names for 20 or 30 dollars each per an: the Insufficiency, however, and the Humiliation attending such a Mode of Payment I learnt from the Rev Mr Scott, a very venerable, greyheaded Clergyman of the Scotch Protestant Church whom I met at the Country House of Mr Ogle [9] a Gentleman of Property in this State. [Deleted marginal insert: for whom I had brought a brace of English Pheasants on my 2d Visit in the U States.] Mr Scott told me that his salary might be called about £400 a year, Maryland Currency, but that it was difficult and troublesome for him to go about in order to get paid by each individual subscriber, and if he were to dun them he should run the Risk of their withdrawing their Names altogether: indeed so irksome was this operation become to him who was as mild and almost as simple as a Child, and who moreover could not stand the fatigue of it, being now considerably above 60 years of age, that he soon afterwards determined to retire and go back to Scotland after 35 years absence from his Native Country to look out for a Curacy or for any other Ressource that he could obtain there, rather than remain on in America an object of Pity, if not of Contempt, humbled as well as mortified in his own Feelings. I felt so for him that I gave him a Letter for Lady Liverpool and recommended him in the strongest Terms for some Preferment in Great Britain, however small; I had, however, the mortification, on my Return to Europe, of learning that although he had left my Letter at Fife House and had called on Lady Liverpool, yet the Family having unluckily been out of Town, or merely out for a drive, he poor Man, who was probably possessed of a morbid Sensibility that made him think himself too insignificant to be noticed by the great, had quitted London without leaving his address or any clue by which to find him, and this was the more to be lamented as Lord Liverpool had been moved by my Representation to compassionate his Situation having actually fixed upon a small and very comfortable Living which was to be conferred upon him, but he had vanished and I never afterwards could learn what became of him. [Marginal insert: Note—I since heard from Dr Tarrot the Bishop of Edinburgh that he went to that City and was there employed as Curate.]

The State of Maryland had a high agricultural Reputation tho the Land there is not always well managed being in many Parts very much gullied as in Virginia. Land, however, in Virginia is rendered more valuable to the owners from the State Laws in regard to Debt and the transfer of Property, as the Virginian landholder can not be forced to part with any Portion of his Estate for the Purpose of paying even a just Debt and this makes a pretty considerable Difference in the Price of the Lands of the same Quality on the opposite Sides of the River Potomac. Maryland, as is well known, produces the best Tobacco for smoaking, which is called "Kitefoot." More than a Hogshead, in general, is raised from one acre and it is worth at the lowest Price about 65 dollars: The

[9] Benjamin Ogle, governor of Maryland, 1798-1801, son of Governor Samuel Ogle. *D. A. B.*, XIII, 648.

State has it examined by an inspecting officer who opens it with an Iron ledge in three Places for Examination, so attentive are they to keep up the Reputation of the staple Commodity of the Country.[10]

I was assured by the Comptroller of the Treasury, Mr Duval,[11] who was himself a Landowner, that the Expence of a Slave to his Master amounted annually, on a rough Calculation to but 20 dollars, (not quite £4:10s), and that one Slave should be equal to the Labour employed on three Hogsheads of Tobacco, which in some years is sold at even 90 or 100 Dollars per Hogshead for the best—so that the Profit may be enormous, tho of course somewhat more than 40 dollars may be deducted from the gross Price, when one considers that at least one half the Number of the Slaves whom a Proprietor maintains must be set down as ineffective from Sickness, Infancy or age; When we reflect, however, that in England a Farmer is thought to do very well if, after all Expences are paid, he nets £4 an acre, the Profit of the Marylander must appear very great: and moreover when the Soil is quite new I have been assured that even more than a Hogshead and a half has been raised on the acre.

Tobacco does not exhaust the Soil as Indian Corn does, and I have been told by Mr Key that it takes four years for some soils to recover, when not manured, from the Effects of the Corn.

There were a great Number of rich Proprietors in the State of Maryland. In the District, nearest the City of Washington, alone, of which Montgomery County forms Part, I was assured that there were 500 Persons possessing Estates which returned them an Income of £1000 Maryland Currency, and Mr Lloyd,[12] a Member of Congress on the Eastern Branch, possessed a net Revenue of 30000 Dollars or between 6 and £7000 with which he had only to buy Clothes for himself and Family, wines, Equipage, Furniture and other Luxuries. Mr Ringold,[13] too, possessed near Haggardstown [Hagerstown] Property yielding him an Income of 12000 dollars a year, and he rented his Lands to Tenants, whom he was at Liberty to change if he pleased every year, for 5 dollars per acre, tho he was to stand the Expence of all Repairs. Mr Ringold kept but 600 acres in his own Hands for Stock. Mr Tayloe[14] also, whose whole Income exceeded 70,000 dollars per an, had a great Portion of it in Maryland,

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[10] To improve the quality of exported tobacco and to keep down the crop surplus, rigid inspection laws were passed as early as 1747, a later one coming in 1801. Joseph C. Robert, *The Tobacco Kingdom* (Durham, N. C., 1938), p. 8; Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1833), p. 176.

[11] Gabriel Duvall (1752-1844), Member of Congress, 1794-1796, first Comptroller of the Treasury, 1802-1811, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, 1811-1835.

[12] Edward Lloyd, Republican Representative, 1806-1809; later Governor of Maryland and U. S. Senator. *D. A. B.*, XI, 331.

[13] General Samuel Ringgold, who owned the estate "Fountain Rock" in Washington County. George A. Hanson, *Old Kent* (1876), p. 67. Fountain Rock was the subject of an article in *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XLVII (1952), 19-28.

[14] John Tayloe of Mt. Airy, Virginia, and Octagon House, Washington, prominent in society and a successful patron of the turf. "Virginia Legislative Papers," *Virginia Magazine of History,* XVII (October, 1909), 374n.

chiefly at Nanjimoy where he held 3000 acres which his Father bought for £500 and which he could have sold for 20,000 dollars: his Property too must by this time be very considerably augmented for he was said to lay out about 33000 dollars every year in new Purchases. He possessed 500 Slaves, built Brigs and Schooners, worked Iron Mines, converted the Iron into Ploughshares and all this was done by the Hands of his own Subjects. He had a splendid House at Mount Airy with a Property round it of 8000 acres and a House at the Federal City, and he told me that he raised about 12 Bushels to the acre of the best Land. Mr Carrol of Annapolis,[15] Grandfather to Lady Wellesley, the Duchess of Leeds—and Lady Stafford, was said to be still more wealthy having besides great accumulation in the Funds, 15000 acres of the best Land in Frederic County and several other Estates. He let a considerable Portion of his Property too to Tenants with an agreement that he was to receive a fine on the Transfer of a Lease, which arrangement is very profitable in a Country where Land is so often liable to change its occupants. I am induced to mention these Instances of Men of Property and good Family settled in America from having observed what great Ignorance still prevails among even the higher Classes of Englishmen in Regard to the State of the Colonies before the Revolution that separated them from the Mother Country, many Persons supposing them to have been in a great Measure peopled by Convicts. Whereas, Whatever were the Importations of such Persons as are now sent to Botany Bay, they were too few in former Days to affect the general Character of the Colonial Population and were probably restricted to the State of Pennsylvania which is still an omnium Gatherum for People of all Countries and Religions and to the State of Georgia, which only began its Political Existence in the last Century.

No Town in the World, perhaps, has had a more rapid rise than Baltimore, it contains at the present Day in all Probability 80 or 90,000 Inhabitants, and Mr Cook,[16] a most respectable Inhabitant of the Place told me in 1805 that he could remember when there were not more than 5 or 6 Houses in it. What contributed more than any other Circumstance to its extraordinary Increase was that of its being a safe Position as a Place of Deposit, out of the reach of Ships of War during the War of Independance. Capital then flowed into it, Commercial Houses were established, and, the Market once formed, such is the Stability of Credit and of Habit, that even the Foundation of Washington City, with all its advantages arising from its being seated on a great River, with every one of the back Countries nearer to it than to Baltimore, has not been able to do the slightest Prejudice to the Prosperity of the Latter, while so great has been the advance in the Value of the Ground for building

[15] Charles Carroll of Carrollton. Joseph Gurn, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton, 1737-1832* (New York, 1932); also Ellen Hart Smith, *Charles Carroll of Carrolton* (1942).

[16] Probably William Cooke, Baltimore businessman. See J. Thomas Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), p. 303.

Purposes consequent upon this great demand for it that Col. Howard [17] told me he had just sold for 150,000 dollars a piece of Land that he had bought several years previously of Mr Key for about 800 Guineas and it is on a Part of this Land that the Roman Catholic Cathedral Church has been erected.

Dry goods were carried in Waggons from Baltimore to Nashville in Tennessee in a Period of about Six weeks, being a Distance of 640 miles, and the cost of Carriage amounted to but 12½ per cent.

From Baltimore to Philadelphia the Distance is 148 miles which I did in 29 hours, sleeping on the Road at Havre de Grace on the Susquehannah. I took the Stage Horses and changed at every Station paying for them but 56 dollars and thus a first Step was made towards travelling Post which since, as I am told, has been continued.

There was a Sum of 1000,000 dollars subscribed for forming an East India Company at Baltimore the average Passage from which Town to Calcutta was calculated at 120 days.[18]

There were several flourishing Manufactures in the Neighbourhood, or in the Town itself, among which was one peculiarly American, namely that of Moss Hair Matrasses, the Material for which is chiefly imported from Charleston and New Orleans, being the fine Moss already mentioned, that grows on Trees and resembles Hair, which it nearly equals in Quality, while it costs but 6½ Cents per lb. Whereas Hair costs at Baltimore 37½ Cents per lb. Bed ticking is also made here, and there is a Cotton Manufactory [19] in the Neighbourhood at a Place called Ellicot's Mills under the Direction of an Englishman who did not seem over satisfied with his Gains tho he was paid two Dollars per Day, for he told me that a very little would tempt him to go back to the old Country. He was paid from Fortnight to Fortnight, and the work was principally done by apprentices, Boys and Girls; 200 lbs of Cotton were spun in a Day, which was chiefly worked into Yarn, very little being made into Cloth. A few Englishmen, nevertheless, were engaged in making Jean and Royal Rib which is used for Waistcoats, and they were paid by the Piece 32 cents and hardly made 3½ yards a day, which was hard earning, being less than a common Labourer is paid Who gets a Dollar a Day and is found in food. The Girls got 2 dollars per week, but the Lodging of these People and their Board is stopt out of their Pay, and they worked from Sun rise to Sun Set, having only ½ an hour for Breakfast and one hour for Dinner, so laborious are People obliged to be to please their Masters even in this Young Country.

The Cotton from New Orleans was very dirty and of bad Quality,

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[17] John Eager Howard, Revolutionary soldier and United States Senator, 1796-1803. *D. A. B.*, IX, 277; see also Griffith, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

[18] Early in 1807 a company was organized which went through the Embargo to the East and realized a handsome profit. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

[19] In 1808 a society was formed to carry on cotton manufacturing, and works were established on the Patapsco River near Ellicott's Mills. It was chartered by the Legislature and called the Union Manufacturing Company. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

tho the worse it was the better, they said, for the coarse yarn that they wanted, and it was very cheap costing but 11 Cents per Pound. The Manufacturer has as yet but little Profit and the Shares subscribed for were under Par, which was to be lamented as there was a Population of 300 Persons, in all, kept together by this Establishment.

During Mr and Mrs Merry's [20] Residence in the United States we made an Excursion together to Annapolis, which is about 44 miles from Washington and is on the Bay of Chesapeak. I rode the whole way which lies for the most Part through very fine woods of oaks, Tulip Trees and Hiccories. I never saw, unless on the Banks of the Bosphorus, so great a Luxuriancy of Foliage, and it was in the Month of May when the Country was most beautiful; the Variety of the Oaks was particularly striking, the Red Oak has leaves, when young, fully as large as Cabbage Leaves; another, the Black Oak grows like a Portugal Laurel, the Leaves shaped like a flattened Pear and extremely coriaceous; the White Oak, the most valuable of all, grows best on a slashy Soil and is of an excellent Quality for Ship and House building, provided it is not put into Contact with the Timber of the Live Oak, for I was assured by Commandant [Thomas] Ting[e]y, Commissioner of the Navy Yard, that if the Ribs of Live Oak were only to rest on White Oak Planks the latter will rot away at the Point of Contact although remaining Sound a few Inches from it on either side.

The Willow Oak has long thin Leaves without a single Indenture and is a very pretty Tree. The Hiccory grows to a large Size and has Leaves like those of a Walnut Tree, pointed but not quite so smooth. The Tulip Tree is very lofty and has Abundance of Flowers half green half red: a Gentleman of Kentucky told me he had one that was 29 feet in Circumference and that five Men could hardly embrace with arms extended. The Cedars have a red blossom, in Shape very much like a Tarantula, so much so that I took it at first for an Insect. The woods were interspersed with beautiful Climatis, and in this District they seemed filled with a Variety of noisy Birds, of which the Woodpeckers furnish a great number of different Species. At Marlborough Court House we got to a clean Tavern kept by a very civil Innkeeper, and further on five miles from Annapolis we crossed South River, which is ½ a mile wide, in a flat Boat.

Annapolis was formerly the greatest City of Maryland until Baltimore took away its Trade; it still, however, contains the best Houses in the State, tho only a Town, now, of 1500 Inhabitants. The Houses are built of brick and generally three Stories high, being more lofty than those of Baltimore, and every House has a Garden and Trees to shade it. The best Society used to be found here a few years back, and there were still several agreeable families residing in the Town when we visited it, amongst the Rest the Ogle family and Mr Carrol already mentioned as a great Landholder, the richest perhaps in the United States, and who

[20] Anthony Merry, British Minister to the United States.

looked very old fashioned, wearing Ruffles and a cocked Hat as in the older Time. Stewart the Painter [21] told a good Anecdote of one of these Gentlemen: that upon Mrs Bingham's [22] Return from England he was invited to her Parties, and as she gave herself fashionable airs and among other Innovations had introduced the form of announcing Company on their arrival, his Name was shouted out by the Servant at the Door to the Servant on the landing Place, and by him ecchoed up to the Drawing Room while he was pulling off a tight great Coat; when hearing himself so repeatedly called for he at last got vexed at what he thought their impatient hurry, stopt tugging for a Moment and gave them all a hearty Curse, exclaiming D—n it dont be in such a haste and I'll be with you immediately.

There was a School for little Boys at Annapolis which had considerable Reputation; there was no flogging allowed of which is a discipline that is scouted throughout all this Part of the Continent. Roman Catholic and Protestant as well of Boys of all Sects were promiscuously educated at this School.

I again visited Annapolis in June 1811 when I landed from the Minerva Frigate, with Sir Grenville Temple [23] who was going to endeavour to drive away some Squatters from his Lands in Massachusetts, Mr Baker my private Secretary and Seven Servants, and I had to pay for a single Days living at the Inn 36 Dollars or £8. I dined the following Day on my Road to the Federal City at Mr Ogle's of Bellair,[24] and gave him an English Cock Pheasant which I had brought for him with the Hen, but the latter had died at Sea.

The Law of Prescription takes Effect in this State after 20 years of Possession.

Mr Ogle told me that some years previously his Father and other Proprietors near the Shore had been much plagued by Visits from Sailors belonging to the Patriots and other French Ships of War lying in the Chesapeak, four of his Sheep having, on one occasion, been killed and carried off from a Farm belonging to him: a Complaint having been made to the Commandant, he advized the Gentlemen to arm their Negroes and order them to fire on the offenders if they attempted to do so another Time: but he never offered to pay for the Sheep, and the Sailors must have been under very loose discipline for the Messenger saw some of them drunk and playing Cards while their officers appeared to walk by without noticing them.

Soon after my Return from Annapolis I made an Excursion to Harper's Ferry; [25] it was on the 20th of June and I set out on Horseback which

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[21] Gilbert Stuart. *D. A. B.*, XVIII, 163.

[22] Anne W. Bingham, Federalist society leader of Philadelphia. *Ibid.*, II, 273.

[23] Probably George Nugent-Temple-Grenville or his son Richard. See *D. N. B.*, XXIII, 127, 129.

[24] "Belair," Prince George's County, the home built about 1746 by Gov. Samuel Ogle, father of Benjamin.

[25] In a letter to his mother, Foster wrote "I made a little excursion to Harper's Ferry where the Shenandoah and Potomack join and rush through the mountains, if

was the only way for travelling with any Comfort in the United States, the Stage Coaches being in general so crowded that whether in Winter or Summer one feels the greatest Inconvenience in them, for tho they ought by Law to take but seven Passengers, they do take 12 or 13, and of these many Individuals are occasionally very disagreeable Companions, and either from their filthiness or Manners not fit to associate with Gentlemen. The drivers too make themselves formidable by choosing to drive over the worst Places in a dashing Manner: Whereas with one's own Horses one may choose one's hours for dining or halting and go nearly as far in a Day, when the Roads are bad which is pretty generally the Case to the South of the Susquehannah.

It is 15 miles to Montgomery Court House [Rockville]
16 to a Tavern
13 to Frederick Town
10 to a small Village called Trappe
and 10 to Harpers Ferry

The Tavern at Montgomery Court House was kept by a Scotchman who avoided talking of his Country as if he was ashamed of having left it.

There is perhaps no Country in the World in which one may travel over so much space and meet with less Variety, or take less Interest in the Objects one may see as in the Interior of the States, generally speaking: The whole of my Tour tended but to one Gratification, that of beholding the Junction of two Rivers at Harper's Ferry, the Character of the Inhabitants hereabouts, a Set of People unattached to Soil, Descendants of German Soldiers, or Germans, or Scotch, making no permanent stay any where, and caring little for any thing but Money, being too null or insignificant to merit Attention: while the language they speak is a Jargon of English and German, in which the English evidently gains Ground and the German is a wretchedly corrupt Patois. I conversed with several and was surprized to find that I could hardly understand a single Sentence, while one of the Inhabitants paid me the Compliment of saying that I spoke the German too grammatically for him.

Between Montgomery Court House and Scholls Tavern one catches a View of the Monocasis [26] Mountains, particularly that called the Sugarloaf, which is insulated from the rest, and from its conical form made one imagine that it might be an extinguished Volcano: I could not, however, approach near enough to see if there were any Volcanic Stones about it. The Tavern stands high and as there are no Rivers or Marshes in the Vicinity, it is perhaps the only Spot for Miles where no ague is to be caught. One of those sudden Gusts of Wind, accompanied with Rain,

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mountains they can be called. The country is very woody, but has more cultivated spots than I expected to find. Population does not increase, however, very rapidly in this part of the United States." Foster to Lady Elizabeth Foster, June 30, 1805, in Sir Vere Foster (ed.), *The Two Duchesses* (London, 1898), p. 226.

[26] Monocacy.

so common in the United States, came on just as I got there, and obliged me to remain for the Night: otherwise I should have rode as far as Frederick Town on the first Day. I had a wretched bed there.

On the Road to Frederick Town I passed the River Monocasis, the Country is very much cleared and the land, apparently, very rich, but whether cleared Land or Forest it is equally sultry as the Trees are tall and branch out but very little. The Cottages are universally made of Logs and small. Land sells for 40 or 50 dollars the Acre. There is not a single Bookseller's Shop in Frederick, as the Town is familiarly called, and although it is the second Inland Town in the State not situated upon a River, having about 1500 Inhabitants, whose Trade is principally carried on in small Waggons with Baltimore.

In going to Harper's Ferry one crosses the Blue Ridge, a Range of lofty Hills covered with Woods and from about one to 2000 feet high: The Undulations of the Soil at their Feet give considerable richness to the View, but there is no very striking Feature to be seen, until within a few Miles of the Ferry where the Road is confined between the Heights and the River, the Banks being high and rocky as well as interspersed with Trees; the Scenery is very romantic and the River rapid and wide, tho not very deep at the Ferry which in the dry Season no Vessels can pass. On crossing over to a Village on the other Side one sees a Manufactory of arms of which 13000 Stand were lying ready in the armoury when I visited the Place.[27] It is a strong Position as it stands against a stony Mount with the River Shenandoah on the right hand and the Potomac on the left. There is a Rock suspended over two others just above the Village which they call Jefferson's Rock, as it is supposed that it was from thence he composed his Rant about the bursting through the Mountains of the Two Rivers.[28] Two miles, however, beyond this Point, his Imagination might have been more easily worked up, for from the high Grounds on the Road to Sheppardstown one catches a View of the beds of the two Torrents, their Junction and Passage to the Ridge, as well as the blue Summit of the Sugar Loaf Mountain which stands in the Plain.

The Body of Water at this Season of the year is scanty and the Shenandoah is not navigable at all, nor is the Potomac much deeper, and the Corn Traders prefer dealing over-land with Baltimore: the Freshes too of these Rivers are very uncertain depending upon Rains which may fall sooner or later in the Year. I slept at Trappe on the Floor on Straw, and the Inn at the Ferry was very indifferent.

It is about 24 miles from thence to Martinsburg,[29] tho called 20, and one is continually liable to be deceived in these Parts as to Distances

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[27] On the right bank of the Potomac stood the "Federal Manufactories of Arms." For description of the arsenals and the "manufactories," see P. H. Nicklin, *Letters Descriptive of the Virginia Springs* (Philadelphia, 1835), pp. 82-83.

[28] From this rock Jefferson is supposed to have viewed the falls. In his *Notes on Virginia* occurs the description of "one of the most stupendous scenes in nature." Saul K. Padover, *The Complete Jefferson* (New York, 1943), p. 578.

[29] Then in Virginia, now West Virginia.

everybody appearing to decide them according to a Measure of his own, calculating not unfrequently from his particular home, without reflecting upon how far he may have left it behind him. On the Road to Annapolis I was told at first that it was 16 miles to Marlborough, four miles further on I was told the same story and four miles after that again I found People who informed me that I had still 15 miles to go, so that it seemed like chasing a Rainbow. At Sheppardstown a Frenchman from Marseilles kept the Inn. At Martinsburg the Inn was supposed to be one of the best in the United States: and I slept there in the Ball Room—It is a great resort in Summer as a healthy Place, tho of a Population of about 1000 Inhabitants 70 had died the year previous of the bilious Fever: but that was an extraordinary year, it was said—these buts, however, are frequently introduced and you must Question and cross question in order to discover from an Inhabitant of any Place hereabouts whether his Town is really unhealthy or not. There is a public Table at the Inn at Martinsburg and all decently dressed Strangers are admitted to it. I met there Mr Worthington, a Senator of the United States [30] who was riding thro and stopped to breakfast there. I returned by Middleton in Maryland in another Direction across the blue Ridge to Fredericstown. The Hills I found stony and covered with wood but no fine Timber in them. The Breaks afforded rich and pleasing Views—I met but one Beggar and his family on the whole Road, and but few people of any sort, even Negros seemed Scarce. At Fredericktown I breakfasted with the Lady of the House and her Family as well as some Strangers: They knew me and I everywhere met with some Respect, nor did I find the common People boorish.

[30] Probably Thomas W. Worthington, Senator from Ohio, 1803-1807, 1810-1814. *D. A. B.*, XX, 540.

MARYLAND QUAKERS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

By KENNETH L. CARROLL

THE Quaker movement, which originated in England in 1652, spread so rapidly and widely that within four years it had reached out not only into all of Great Britain and much of Europe but also throughout the English colonies in America.* George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, as the Quakers called themselves, wrote, "In 1655 many missionaries went beyond the sea, and in 1656 some proselytes were made in the American provinces and other places."[1]

The first Quakers to visit continental America were mostly women. In July, 1656, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin arrived at Boston, beginning the "Quaker invasion of Massachusetts." After having their books burned, being examined for marks of witches, and being imprisoned for five weeks, they were shipped to Barbados Island by the shipmaster who had brought them.[2]

Almost simultaneous with the arrival of Ann Austin and Mary Fisher in Boston was the first known attempt to propagate the Quaker message in the southern colonies. Here also the first missionary of this new sect was a woman — Elizabeth Harris of London. Although it has generally been held that her missionary activity was in Virginia, it is evident that her "convincements," at least those of which we know, "were made in the colony of Maryland, though she may have performed some labour of which we have no accounts in Virginia as well."[3]

* A general article about "The Society of Friends in Maryland" by Delmar Leon Thornburg appeared in *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIX (1934), 101-115.—*Ed.*

[1] Cited by J. Saurin Norris, *The Early Friends (Or Quakers) In Maryland* (Baltimore, Maryland Historical Society, 1862), p. 4. For a brief, but interesting, account of this "most remarkable extension of Quakerism beyond the seas" see Elbert Russell, *The History of Quakerism* (New York, 1943), pp. 37-28.

[2] James Bowden, *History of the Society of Friends in America* (London, 1850-1854), I, 35. See also William Sewell, *A History of the Rise, Increase and Progress of the Christian People Called Quakers* (Philadelphia, 1823), I, 290-291.

[3] Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (London, 1911), p. 266. Russell (*op. cit.*, p. 39) suggests that Elizabeth Harris may have started her work

Gerard Roberts wrote to George Fox in July, 1657, saying, "The Friend who went to Virginia [evidently Elizabeth Harris] is returned in a pretty condition. There she was gladly received by many who met together, and the Governor is convinced."[4] Rufus Jones, the great Quaker scholar and mystic, feels that the word *Virginia* was used for this "general section of the great, more or less unknown, New World." He suggests that "the Governor who is convinced" is Robert Clarkson — never "governor" of Maryland but a member of the General Assembly from Anne Arundel County. In speaking of Clarkson, Thomas Hart of London, in a letter to Thomas Willan and George Taylor in 1658, says "I suppose this man is the governor of that place," i. e., the place visited by Elizabeth Harris.[5]

The most important clue about the success and location of Elizabeth Harris' work is furnished by a letter written by Robert Clarkson, the "convinced governor," dated the 14th of the Eleventh Month, 1657. This letter reads as follows:[6]

Elizabeth Harris, Dear Heart, I salute thee in the tender love of the Father, which moved thee toward us and I do own thee to have been a minister by the will of God to bear the outward testimony to the inward word of truth in me and others. Of which word of life God hath made my wife a partaker with me and hath established our hearts in His fear, and likewise Ann Dorsey in a more large measure; her husband I hope abides faithful; likewise John Baldwin and Henry Caplin; Charles Balye abides convinced and several in those parts where he dwells.[7] Elizabeth Beasley abides as she was when thou was here. Thomas Cole and William Cole have both made open confession of the truth; likewise Henry Woolchurch, and others suffer with us the reproachful name.[8] William Fuller abides convinced. I know not but William Durand doth the like.[9] Nicholas Wayte abides convinced. Glory be to God who is the living

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in Maryland and Virginia as early as 1655, but all other historians hold to the year 1656 as the time of her religious activities here.

[4] Quoted by Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

[5] *Loc. cit.* Hester Dorsey Richardson, *Sidelights on Maryland History with Sketches of Early Maryland Families* (Baltimore, 1913), I, 221, reports finding in an early document reference to "a place in Virginia called Maryland."

[6] Reproduced by Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 267-268. The original is in the Swarthmore collection.

[7] This Charles Bayly, who helped John Perrot to obtain release from his imprisonment in Rome by the Inquisition in 1661, became one of the extreme followers of Perrot in the schism which soon followed.

[8] The "reproachful name" is that of "Quaker" which was first applied to Friends in scorn and derision but which later came to be a badge of honor.

[9] William Durand, who was one of Cromwell's commissioners for the government of Maryland, was Secretary of the Commission. Jones (*op. cit.*, p. 267, n. 2) thinks this Durand may possibly have been the person referred to as "governor."

fountain and fills all that abide in Him. The two messengers thou spoke of in this letter have not yet come to this place—we heard of two come to Virginia in the fore part of the winter, but we heard that they were soon put into prison, and not suffered to pass. . . .[10] We have disposed of the most part of the books which were sent, so that all parts where there are Friends are furnished and everyone that desires it may have benefit of them: at Herring Creek, Rhoad River, South River, all about Severn, the Brand Neck and thereabouts, the Seven Mountains and Kent.

The writer of this letter states that the two Friends, whose arrival in Virginia he has heard of, "have not yet come to this place." Thus it appears clear that he was not writing from Virginia. Durand, Thomas and William Cole, and Henry Woolchurch, mentioned in the above letter, were Maryland Quakers. Also the communities listed are all well-known Maryland localities not too distant from Annapolis. For these reasons the attempts of Bowden, Janney, and other historians to locate the Severn between the Rappahannock and York Rivers in Virginia were questioned nearly a century ago.[11] Rufus Jones, however, has made the most thorough attempt to correct this mistaken location of the first "convincements" of Elizabeth Harris.[12]

The next two Quaker missionaries to visit Maryland were Josiah Cole and Thomas Thurston, who set out on foot for Maryland after being released from imprisonment in Virginia. There, having been joined by Thomas Chapman, they remained until August, 1658, when they continued their travels on foot to New England. Thurston, who had previously been banished from Boston, took this method of entering Massachusetts by a "back door"—for laws had been made to prevent all vessels from bringing Quakers into the colony.[13]

These three Friends, Thurston, Cole, and Chapman, followed up the work of Elizabeth Harris who had gathered a large number of followers about the Severn and Kent. They were very successful in their spreading of the Quaker message, and many colonists were willing to hazard everything for what seemed to them

[10] The two Quakers who were imprisoned in Virginia were, in all probability, Josiah Cole (Coale) and Thomas Thurston who arrived in Virginia in 1657 and who, after making a number of convincements, were imprisoned under the 1643 Acts for the banishment of Non-conformists. Virginia officials, in their attempt to have the Church of England as their one religious institution, enacted extremely harsh regulations against Catholics and Non-conformists.

[11] Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[12] Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-268.

[13] Norris, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

the truth. It was at this time that there was recorded in the minutes of the proceedings of the Council, or Upper House, a feeling of "alarm" at "the increase of the Quakers."[14]

At an early stage of their history in Maryland persecution came upon the Quakers. Thus one finds that, upon information Thomas Thurston, who was opposed to swearing and refused to take the oath of fidelity to the proprietary government, was imprisoned and then ordered to leave the colony;[15] and upon information Josiah Cole was "at Annarundel seduceing the People & diswadeing the people from taking the engagement," the Sheriff of Anne Arundel was ordered to "take the body of Josiah Cole & him in safe custody keepe vt in Order without Baile of Mainprise."[16]

Besse, the recorder of Quaker sufferings, lists the names of some thirty people who suffered in 1658 under the Maryland government. These were charged with refusing to fight, to take oaths, or with entertaining Quakers. A fine of £3, 15s was levied for entertaining Quaker missionaries.[17]

In the early part of 1659 three other travelling Friends — Christopher Holder, Robert Hodgson, and William Robinson — visited Maryland. As happened everywhere, "considerable convincements took place."[18] The success of their labor and the rapid growth of Quakerism apparently alarmed the authorities. On July 23, 1659, the Governor and Council of Maryland issued the following order:

Whereas it is well know in this Province that there haue of late bin seueral vagabonds & Jdle persons knowne by the name of Quakers that haue presumed to com into this Province as well diswading the People from Complying with the Military discipline in this time of Danger as also from giving testimony or being Jurors. . . . And that the keeping & detayning them as Prisoners hath brought so great a charge vpon this Province the Governor & Councell . . . doe heereby . . . Require and command all & euery the Justices of Peace of this Province that so soone

[14] *Archives of Maryland*, III, 347. This is the earliest mention of Quakers in the colonial records of Maryland.

[15] *Ibid.*, III, 349-350; Raphael Semmes, *Crime and Punishment in Early Maryland* (Baltimore, 1938), p. 4.

[16] *Archives of Maryland*, III, 349-350.

[17] Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers from 1650-1689* (London, 1753), II, 378-380. Jones (*op. cit.*, p. 278) feels that these thirty probably represented the number of adult males who had become Quakers in 1658.

[18] Bowden, *op. cit.*, I, 367.

as they shall haue notice that any of the foresaid Vagabonds or Jdle persons shall again presume to come into this province they forthwith cause them to be apprehended & whipped from Constable to Constable vntil they shall be sent out of the Province.[19]

Thomas Thurston, who had gone to New England after being expelled from Maryland, returned in 1659. A manuscript letter by William Robinson, cited by Bowden, reports his arrest and sentence to an imprisonment of a year and a half.[20] Besse, the chronicler of Quaker sufferings for the Truth, records that four individuals were fined for extending hospitality to him and that another was whipped "for not assisting the sheriff to apprehend him."[21]

Josiah Cole, Thurston's earlier travelling companion, made a return visit to Maryland in 1660. After a visit of some ten weeks, he was banished from Maryland, but on what charge is not related.[22] Almost upon the heels of Josiah Cole came the visit of another Quaker minister to the colonies — George Rofe. He reported that "many settled meetings there are in Maryland." On a second journey to this section, in 1663, he was drowned in the Chesapeake Bay during a storm.[23]

It should be pointed out that this persecution, which fell upon the Quakers in Maryland in the brief period following 1658, was primarily political rather than religious. Many Friends suffered imprisonment, fines, whippings, or banishment for refusal of military service or oaths, for keeping on their hats in court and for entertaining travelling Quakers.[24] This persecution, writes Jones, was motivated not by intolerance of their religious teachings, but by "the sincere though mistaken conception that the Quakers were hostile to government, and were inculcating views that were incompatible with a well-ordered civil regime." He holds that, as the "solid" people of the colony came to an understanding of the real nature of the new religion, there came to be a "general attitude of respect" toward it.[25]

In Maryland the earliest "convincements" came largely from among the people who were unchurched — those who belonged neither to the Church of England nor to the Roman fold. In the

[19] *Archives of Maryland*, III, 362. There is no record of this sentence ever having been applied.
[20] Bowden, *op. cit.*, I, 367.
[21] Besse, *op. cit.*, II, 378-380.
[22] Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
[23] Bowden, *op. cit.*, I, 347, 362.
[24] Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
[25] Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-280.

early 1660s there occurred a great influx of Quakers from Virginia who were undergoing very harsh persecution. A series of laws had been enacted from 1659 to 1663, designed to forbid Quakers to enter Virginia, to stay in the colony, or to hold services for worship. "An Act for the Suppression of the Quakers" was adopted by the Assembly at the session of March, 1659/60. There followed, in December, 1662, "An Act against Persons that refuse to have their children baptized" and, in September, 1663, "An Act prohibiting the unlawful assembling of Quakers."[26] Such laws, punishing Quakers for not having their children baptized and forbidding them to hold religious meetings with more than five persons present, were motivated by religious rather than political considerations. There was to be no challenge to the Established Church as the one religious institution in Virginia.

The story of those Quakers on the Eastern Shore of Virginia who escaped the persecution of the authorities by petitioning the government of Maryland for permission to settle on the Maryland side of the line dividing the Eastern Shore has been well reconstructed (as far as existing records permit) and interestingly set forth by Torrence in his *Old Somerset.*[27] Three meetings—Annemessex, Monie, and Bogerternorton — were established in this section. Annamessex appears to have been the first of the three; the other two are thought to have been organized following George Fox's visit to Somerset in February–March, 1672/1673.[28]

Of this early group in Somerset, Ambrose Dixon, George Johnson, and Thomas Price were among the most active. Dixon, a well-to-do planter, was the heart of the Annamessex group. Colonel Scarburgh (remembered for his abortive attempt to place the Annemessex-Manokin area under the authority of Virginia) described him as "receiver of many Quakers, his home ye place of their Resort." A number of very important people in Somerset, including Stephen Horsey, William Coulbourne, and others, were

[26] George MacLaren Brydon, *Virginia's Mother Church and the Political Conditions Under Which It Grew* (Richmond, 1947), p. 192. Pages 196-197 contain the author's attempt to justify this treatment of Quakers by the Virginia authorities. He states (p. 193) that no Quaker was ever put to death on account of his faith in Virginia. Yet George Wilson, of England, and William Cole, of Maryland, were put into "a nasty stinking, dirty" dungeon in Jamestown. Wilson was whipped and heavily chained, so that "his flesh rotted from his bones and he died" (Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 45).

[27] Clayton Torrence, *Old Somerset on the Eastern Shore of Maryland: A Study in Foundations and Founders* (Richmond, 1935), pp. 85-111.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

friendly to Quakerism in these early days.[29] Other influential Quakers who entered this section of the lower Eastern Shore at a date a little later than this initial influx of 1661-1663 were John Goddin, Levin Denwood, Nehemiah Covington, and Thomas Evernden (later of Dorchester).[30]

In addition to this group of Friends who moved from Northampton and Accomack Counties in Virginia to Somerset in Maryland, there were a number of Quakers who were forced by Governor Berkeley in 1660 to flee Lancaster and the neighboring counties of Virginia. For the most part, they settled along the shores of the Patapsco in Baltimore County and along the Choptank in what was about to become Talbot County. In this Talbot group were Richard Gorsuch and Thomas Powell, both of whom became Justices of Talbot, and Howell Powell and Walter Dickinson, both prominent planters.[31] Philip Stevenson, who was on the Court in Talbot County in 1665, was probably one of the Virginia Quakers.[32] Among those who settled along the Patapsco were Charles and Robert Gorsuch, brothers of Richard and Lovelace Gorsuch, who settled along the Choptank in Talbot.[33]

The increasing attitude of respect toward Quakerism, mentioned earlier, was in large part due to the visits of three outstanding leaders of the new movement—John Burnyeat, George Fox, and William Edmundson. Burnyeat, the first of the three to labor in Maryland, arrived here in April, 1665, from Barbados. He spent the whole summer in Maryland—holding "large meetings in the Lord's power."[34] In the spring of 1672 Burnyeat again returned to Maryland and experienced great success in his work. He called a General Meeting of all Friends in Maryland at West River. This was the beginning of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting, the second oldest yearly meeting to be organized in America.[35]

In 1671 George Fox, accompanied by twelve other leaders, sailed for Barbados where he spent three months strengthening and expanding the Society of Friends. After a visit to Jamaica, the party, which included William Edmundson, sailed to Mary-

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 88-94.
[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 92, 98-99.
[31] *Archives of Maryland*, LIV, xxi.
[32] *Ibid.*, LIV, xxiv.
[33] *Ibid.*, LIV, xxv. These four Gorsuch brothers had migrated to Virginia with their mother about 1652 where they became converts to Quakerism. They were the sons of a Loyalist Anglican clergyman, the Rev. John Gorsuch, who in 1647 was put to death in England by the Puritans.
[34] Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 280.
[35] Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

land and landed just in time to attend this meeting at West River in April, 1672. The increasing respect in which Quakerism was held by the authorities and people of influence in Maryland is clearly reflected time after time in the *Journal* of George Fox. It is with satisfaction that Fox, in describing this General Meeting at West River, notes that there were present many people of "considerable quality in the world's account," including "five or six justices of the peace, a speaker of their parliament or assembly, one of the council, and divers others of note." [36]

From the General Meeting at West River, Fox proceeded to the Cliffs where another large meeting was held. It was here that Fox and his party split into several groups: John Cartwright and James Lancaster left by water for New England; William Edmundson with three other Friends sailed for Virginia, "where things were much out of order"; and George Fox, accompanied by John Burnyeat, Robbert Widders, George Pattison, and several Maryland Friends, set out by boat for the Eastern Shore.[37]

After a meeting on the Eastern Shore, at which "many people received the truth with gladness, and Friends were greatly refreshed," Fox held a meeting with the Indian Emperor and his kings—his first meeting with a group of Indian Chiefs.[38] He describes it as follows:

> And it was upon me from the Lord, to send to the Indian emperor and his kings to come to the meeting. The emperor came, and was at it; but his kings, lying further off, could not reach in time; yet they came after with their cockarooses.[39] I had in the evening two good opportunities with them; they heard the word of the Lord willingly and confessed to it. . . . They carried themselves very courteously and lovingly, and inquired "where the next meeting would be, and they would come to it"; yet they said, "they had had a great debate with their council about their coming, before they came now." [40]

After this meeting with the Indians, Fox and his companions left for New England by land, setting out on horse back from

[36] *Journal of George Fox; Being an Historical Account of the Life, Travels, Sufferings, Christian Experiences, and Labour of Love, in the Work of the Ministry, of that Eminent and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, who Departed this Life, in Great Peace with the Lord, the 13th of the 11th Month, 1690* (London, 1891), II, 164.

[37] *Ibid.*, II, 164.

[38] Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

[39] Cawcawaassough, meaning adviser. See Clayton Colman Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland* (New York, 1910), p. 84, n. 1.

[40] Fox, *op. cit.*, II, 164-165.

near the head of the Tred Avon (in all probability from the home of John Edmondson). Later, on September 16, 1672, Fox and his companions again entered Maryland—coming down the Eastern Shore. On the 18th of September they stopped at the house of Robert Harwood on the Miles River. The next day they went to a large meeting and then on to John Edmondson's. Then they proceeded three or four miles by water to a Meeting on First Day. At this meeting there was a judge's wife who had not been to a Friends Meeting before. She was "reached" and later exclaimed "she had rather hear us once than the priest a thousand times." [41]

From here the group travelled on to Kent where a meeting was held, and then close by to Henry Wilcock's where another service was had. From here a journey of about twenty miles by water took them to a very large meeting where there were "some hundreds of people, four justices of the peace, the high-sheriff of Delaware, an Indian emperor or governor, and two chiefs." [42]

Fox next returned to John Edmondson's on Tredhaven (Tred Avon) Creek. From here he attended the second General Meeting for all Maryland Friends, which hereafter was held alternately at West River and Third Haven every six months. The first three days of this five day General Meeting were spent in public worship to which came "many Protestants of divers sorts, and some Papists; amongst these were several magistrates and their wives, and other persons of chief account in the country." [43] To this meeting came such throngs of people that Fox, in describing his daily trip by water to the meeting, wrote,

> . . . and there were so many boats at that time passing upon the river, that it was almost like the Thames. The people said, "there were never so many boats seen there together before." And one of the Justices said, "he never saw so many People together in that country before." It was a very heavenly meeting.[44]

From this meeting Fox and his companions travelled to the head of the Chesapeake and then started downward on the Western Shore. A "great meeting" was held at Severn; "divers chief magistrates were at it, and many other considerable people." [45] Many of the "people of upper rank" attended the meetings

[41] *Ibid.*, II, 178.
[42] *Loc. cit.*
[43] *Ibid.*, II, 179.
[44] *Loc. cit.*
[45] *Ibid.*, II, 182.

which followed at William Cole's, Abraham Birkhead's, and at Peter Sharp's at the Cliffs.

After an excursion into Virginia and North Carolina and a short period of labor in Southern Maryland, Fox and his group crossed the Bay to Somerset. Here services were held at the houses of Ambrose Dixon, Capt. Colburn, James Jones, and others. From the Annemessex section they proceeded by water about fifty miles to the house of a "friendly woman" at Hunger (Honga) River and then to Dr. Winsmore's (a justice of the peace recently "convinced") near the head of the Little Choptank River in Dorchester.

Following another meeting with the Indians, this time at their town on the Choptank, Fox and his companions held large meetings at William Stevens', at Tredhaven Creek, at Wye, at Reconow Creek, and at Thomas Taylor's on Kent Island.[46] From here they crossed the Chesapeake and labored on the Western Shore until after the General Meeting and then sailed for England.

The *Journal* of George Fox mentions many "house-meetings" throughout Maryland. This remained the custom for many years following the visit of Fox. Rufus Jones writes that Betties (Betty's) Cove in Talbot County was the first meeting-house built in Maryland.[47] This meeting-house, on the Miles River, appears to have been enlarged in 1676 (rather than still being unfinished in 1678, as Jones suggests) when the Men's Meeting at Wenlock Christison's concluded that the meeting-house should be completed as follows:

> to seale the Gable End and the loft with Clapboard and Make a partition betwixt the new Roome and the old three foot high seiled and with windowes to Lift up and Down, and to be hung with hinges according to the discrection of Bryan Omealy and John Pitt who are appointed by the meeting to have the oversight of the Same and to be done with what Conveniency may be.[48]

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[46] Thomas Taylor, at this time Speaker of the Lower House and a very influential man in public affairs, was "convinced" by the preaching of George Fox. He had gone to hear Fox preach at the house of William Cole on the Western Shore and was so impressed that he drove seven miles the next day to a meeting at Abraham Birkhead's where he was "convinced" (See Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 330-331).

[47] Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

[48] Minutes of Third Haven Monthly Meeting for Business, I, 1. These manuscript records of Third Haven Monthly Meeting (hereafter referred to as Third Haven Minutes) are complete from 1676 to the present and are housed in the vault of the Talbot County Register of Wills Office for safe-keeping.

In all probability this meeting-house was built some time before 1672, for there is found in Fox's *Journal* the statement that "though they had not long before enlarged their meeting-place, and made it as large again, as it was before, it could not contain the people."[49] Often, when the meetings were large, barns substituted for houses as a place of worship. John Churchman, on his travels through Talbot County in 1738, records that "an elderly man asked us if we saw some posts standing, pointing to them and added, the first meeting George Fox had on this side of the Chesapeake Bay, was held in a tobacco house there which was then new."[50]

Although not mentioned by name in the *Journal* of Fox, Wenlock Christison (Christerson) had already settled in Talbot County on Fausley Creek, a branch of the Miles River. This Christison had figured prominently in the Boston persecution of Quakers and, in 1660, had been sentenced to be hanged but was shortly thereafter released from prison. In 1664 he received ten lashes in each of three towns in Massachusetts and was then driven into the wilderness. After this he found his way to Barbados and, by 1670, to Talbot County where he was a very influential leader and minister among the Quakers of the central part of the Eastern Shore. For a time one of the meetings was held at his house.[51]

The Minutes of the Men's Meeting for 1679, held at West River, list reports from the following meetings: "The Cliffs, Herring Creek, Patuxent, Muddy Creek, Accomack, Annamessicks, Munny, Choptank, Tuckahoe, Betties Cove, Bay Side, and Chester River."[52] This listing demonstrates the fact that, at this time, Quakers tended to congregate in three areas—near Annapolis (the first three meetings centered around here), in or near Somerset

[49] Fox, *op. cit.*, II, 179.

[50] *An Account of the Gospel Labours and Christian Experience of a Faithful Minister of Christ, John Churchman, Late of Nottingham in Pennsylvania, Deceased* (Philadelphia, 1779), p. 49.

[51] Samuel A. Harrison's *Wenlock Christison, and the Early Friends in Talbot County Maryland* (Baltimore, 1878), contains an interesting account of Christison. This monograph, included in Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County, Maryland, 1661-1861*, I, 103-132, is largely based on George Bishope's somewhat colored *New England Judged*.

[52] Cited by Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 305. Muddy Creek, in Accomack Co., Virginia, should not be confused with Marshy Creek Meeting in Caroline County, Maryland. The latter Meeting, first mentioned in 1727, became known, in turn, as Snow Hill and Preston Meeting.

(where the next four were), or in Talbot County (where the next four were located). There were other meetings which were not mentioned in this group. Third Haven Minutes, for the 28th of the 9th Month, 1679, report that Abraham Strand and John West, with other "friends of Sasifrax," answer "that things are pretty well with them and that for the future they are in hopes things will be better and that they will keep their Meetings more Constant for the future."[53]

The Yearly Meeting, held at Third Haven the 5th Day of the 8th Month, 1697, inquired

> into the estate and welfare of every Weekly Meeting belonging to this Yearly Meeting, viz: South River, West River, Herring Creek, Clifts, Patuxent, Cecill, Chester, Bayside, Tuccahoe, Treadhaven, Choptank, Transquaking, Monnye, Annamessex, Muddy Creek, Pocatynorton, and Nasswaddox.[54]

In addition to these meetings there were probably some other meetings. In 1687 Third Haven Monthly Meeting reported that Little Choptank Meeting, in Dorchester, was one of its Weekly Meetings.[55]

On the 10th of August, 1697, the Governor and Council ordered the Sheriffs of each county to list the location and type of place of worship belonging to the Quakers. The Sheriff of Anne Arundel reported a meeting-house at West River, one at Herring Creek, and meetings at the houses of Samuel Chew, William Richardson, Sr., and John Belt. The only Quaker preachers in Anne Arundel were reported as William Richardson, Sr., and "Samuel Galloway's wife [Ann]." The Sheriff of Baltimore County reported "neither teacher or place of worship" for Quakers.

Calvert County had, it was recorded, "one very old meeting-house near Leonard's Creek and one place of meeting in the dwelling house of George Royston, at the Clifts." Prince George's

[53] Third Haven Minutes, I, 18.

[54] Cited by Norris, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28, footnote. Cecil Weekly Meeting, in existence by 1696, was under Third Haven Monthly Meeting until 1698 when Cecil Monthly Meeting was established. Transquaking, in Dorchester, is first mentioned by name in Third Haven Minutes in 1696. Nassawadox, in Northampton County, Virginia, is said by Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery: a Study in Institutional History* (Baltimore, 1896), p. 340, to have been established *circa* 1680 and laid down in 1736, at about the same time as Muddy Creek Meeting.

[55] Third Haven Minutes, I, 92. At this time (1687) Third Haven contained also Tuckahoe, Bayside, Choptank, Betty's Cove (which was shortly thereafter transferred to Third Haven Meeting-house) and Chester. Cecil and Transquaking had not yet been organized as Weekly Meetings.

County returned that there was no Quaker meeting-house. The Sheriff of Charles reported that there "are two Quakers, but none of their meeting houses."

The Sheriff of Somerset answered "no Quakers," in spite of the three meetings of Annemessex, Monie, and Bogerternorton (Pocatynorton) known to have been in existence at this time! The Sheriff of Dorchester made a similar reply — overlooking Transquaking Meeting and one or more other groups. In 1695 Third Haven Monthly Meeting had appointed William Kennerly and John Foster "to gett the meeting-houses in Dorchester county put upon record at their next county Court." [56]

The Talbot County Quakers had, it was recorded, "a small meeting house" at Ralph Fishbourne's (Bayside) and at Howell Powell's (Choptank) and another one between Kings Creek and Tuckahoe (Tuckahoe). These were clapboard houses "about twenty feet long." A larger one, "about fifty feet long," was at the head of Tredhaven Creek (Third Haven). The Sheriff of Kent reported a meeting-house about thirty feet long and twenty feet wide "upon a branch of a Creek running out of Chester River, called Island Creek" (the Chester Meeting). No return appears to have been made by the Sheriff of Cecil County.[57]

The early "testimony" of Quakers against swearing or taking oaths caused them to encounter many difficulties as witnesses, administrators of estates, guardians of orphans, and as public officials. Their refusal to take oaths had as its reason "the double standard of truthfulness which taking an oath implies." [58] Friends in Maryland frequently attempted to obtain relief from the disabilities which they suffered on this account.

In 1674 the Upper House of the Assembly of Maryland received a petition from certain Quakers who asked that Friends be relieved of the necessity of taking oaths. They should be allowed to make their "yea, yea, and nay, nay," subject to the same punishment, if they broke with that, as those who broke their oaths or swore falsely.[59] This petition, prepared by Wenlock Christison, William Berry, and two other Friends, asked that an affirmation be substituted for an oath (which was already allowed in Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Jamaica). The Burgesses voted

[56] *Ibid.*, I, 136.
[57] Norris, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.
[58] Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
[59] Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

to grant this right to the Maryland Quakers but the Council would not concur.[60]

In 1677 and 1678, as a result of their refusal to take oaths, Maryland Friends were subjected to heavy fines. William Penn attempted to intercede with Lord Baltimore on their behalf in this matter, but it was ten years before the latter granted them relief.[61] The next year, on the 8th of the 6th Month, 1679, the Quakers in the colony saw fit to make another attempt:

> Friends on the Eastern and Western Shore Judging it meet that Two friends Should be made choice of on Each Shoare to attend the Assembly on the truths account left it to the choyce of the friends on Each shoare to pitch upon Such friends as they did Judg meet. . . . This meeting hath made a choice and do Request Wm. Berry and Tho: Taylor to attend that Service, and if anything should happen So as to deter Either of them from the Said Service then the meeting hath made Choice and doth Request Wm. Southebee to Supply his place in that service and to meete with Friends on the Western Shoare at the Citty of Mary=s by the 3rd day of the Assembly=s Sitting if the Lord permits.[62]

An act passed in 1681 by both houses of the Assembly granting relief to Friends was disallowed by the Proprietor "for reasons of state."[63] In 1688 Lord Baltimore by proclamation dispensed with oaths in testamentary cases. The Quarterly Meeting, held at Herring Creek on the 7th of the 9th Month, 1688, produced a letter of thanks to Lord Baltimore for this favor.[64] In 1692, when Sir Lionel Copley arrived to take over the government of Maryland from the hands of the Committee of Safety (after the overthrow of Lord Baltimore), John Edmondson, of Talbot, and Thomas Everden (Everdine), of Somerset, who were elected members of the Assembly, asked to be allowed to make the usual declaration of Quakers—rather than the prescribed oath. Although the Lower House agreed, the Upper House, consisting of the governor and his council, refused. The two Quakers were therefore expelled from the Lower House.[65] It was not until 1702 that all political disabilities were removed from the Quakers.

The attempt to establish the English Church in Maryland began early. John Yeo, in seeking the aid of the Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote in 1676 that,

[60] John Fiske, *Old Virginia And Her Neighbors* (Boston, 1898), II, 153.
[61] Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
[62] Third Haven Minutes, I, 15-16.
[63] Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
[64] Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
[65] Tilghman, *op. cit.*, II, 521.

There are in this province ten or twelve counties and in them at least twenty thousand souls and but three Protestant ministers of us that are conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. . . . No care is taken or provision made for building up Christians in the Protestant religion, for want of which not only many daily fall away to Popery, Quakerism, or fanaticism, but also the Lord's day is profaned, religion despised, and all notorious vices committed so that it is become a Sodom of uncleanness and a pest house of iniquity.[66]

It was Yeo's desire that a tax be levied for the maintenance of ministers of the Church of England; for this reason he has been charged with exaggerating the evils of the situation.[67] Be that as it may, he was nonetheless instrumental in causing the English Church, through the Committee on Trade and Plantations, to interfere from time to time with the proprietary government.[68] Lord Baltimore, in objecting to any establishment of the Church of England in Maryland, stated that at least three-fourths of the inhabitants of Maryland were Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Independents, and Quakers and that it would be difficult to get the Lower House to agree to a law compelling so large a proportion of the population to support the ministers of another denomination.[69]

With the Revolution of 1688 and the assumption of control of Maryland by the crown, the opposition of Lord Baltimore was nullified. A series of laws, from 1692 to 1702, succeeded in establishing the Church of England in Maryland — a situation that lasted until 1776. Of chief concern to the Quakers was the provision embodied in the establishment, which called for an assessment of forty pounds of tobacco per poll on all taxable persons to provide for the erection of church buildings and the support of Anglican ministers.[70]

From the very beginning the Quakers fought the establishment of the Church of England in Maryland — both by petition and non-observance. On the 5th of the 11th Month, 1693, Eastern Shore Friends were advised, concerning the forty pound poll tax, that "no friend ought to pay it Either directly or indirectly or any

[66] *Archives of Maryland*, V, 130-131.
[67] Newton D. Mereness, *Maryland As a Proprietary Province* (New York, 1910), p. 436.
[68] Elizabeth H. Davidson, *The Establishment of the English Church in Continental American Colonies* (Durham, 1936), pp. 26-27.
[69] *Archives of Maryland*, V, 132-133, 252-253, 261-263.
[70] See Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Mereness, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

other person for the use af[oresai]d it being antichristian so to do." [71] In 1694 a paper was given forth from the Yearly Meeting at West River which cautioned Friends "to keep to their Antient Testimony and not to Concern with fighting or takeing away mens Lives nor Contributing towards maintaining Idollatrous priests nor their houses of Worship." [72]

"Distraints for priests' wages" were of frequent occurrence. This practice led to many interesting occasions such as the following one which occurred in 1698:

> William Trew acquaints this meeting y^t^ he had a Servant taken by Execution (For y^e^ 40 £ tobacco per poll to y^e^ priest) Last first month which Servant had about tenn months to serve and now y^e^ Servant has served out his time with Charles Tildon y^e^ high Sheriff of Kent County and now y^e^ Court had granted an Order against Wm. Trew for y^e^ Sd Servants freedom corn and cloaths and he desires the meeting to advise wheather he Should pay it or not. The meeting having Considered the matter gives it as their Sence that he ought not to pay it and therefore advises him not to pay it.[73]

Eastern Shore Quakers were advised, in 1699, to keep an account of Friends' sufferings "upon y^e^ accompt of the 40£ tobacco per poll to y^e^ Priest and for Building and Repairing their worship houses" and that this account be brought to the Quarterly Meeting. Those appointed, for each Weekly Meeting, were William Dixon for Third Haven, Ennion Williams for Bayside, James Ridley for Tuckahoe, William Stevens for Choptank, Daniel Cox for Transquaking, Henry Hosier for Chester, and George Warner for Cecil.[74]

Maryland Quakerism in the 17th century was a vital movement with a missionary spirit and emphasis. The records are full of references to travelling Quakers—both those from Maryland and those from outside Maryland. One of the largest recorded missionary parties of Friends travelling "in the service of Truth" is recorded in 1681 when Elizabeth Carter was accompanied on her "travailes to Delaware" by Ann Chew and Margaret Smith of the Western Shore and Bryon Omealia (Omealy), Mary Omealia, John Pitt, Sarah Pitt, John Wooters, William Southbee, Lovelace Gorsuch, Margaret Berry, and Sarah Edmondson of the Eastern Shore.[75]

[71] Third Haven Minutes, I, 128.
[72] *Ibid.*, I, 130.
[73] *Ibid.*, I, 160.
[74] *Ibid.*, I, 163.
[75] *Ibid.*, I, 41-43.

A revival of persecution against the Virginia Quakers took place from 1675 to 1680.[76] Maryland Quakers, whose interest in their brethren elsewhere led them into correspondence with Friends in Barbados[77] and attendance at other Yearly Meetings,[78] were troubled at this. It was recorded that

> The Sad Estate and Condition of the Church in Virginia being seriously considered by this Meeting, it is the Sence of the Meeting they Should be visited for their good by such friends as find a Concern in their minds upon which Wm. Berry and Stephen Keddy finding themselves concerned in that serviss signified ye same to the Meeting, which the Meeting doth well approve of.[79]

Some time before, in early 1678, John Webb built a "boate Suitable for ye Service of Truth and accomodating friends in ye ministry in their Travailes to Virginia or Other ways." The Eastern Shore Friends, feeling it "to bee too great a charge to Lie upon him She being for publick Service on the acc^{o} of truth," ordered him to be paid twenty-six hundred pounds of tobacco out of "ye stock" for this boat, later called *Ye Good Will*.[80]

The missionary impulse of Quakerism lasted well past the end of the 17th century. This was particularly true on the Eastern Shore where Friends meetings continued to grow in number and size far into the 18th century.[81]

The 17th century saw the introduction and firm establishment of Quakerism in Maryland. From a hated and much feared sect that was persecuted at its beginning, it grew into a respected movement that counted among its adherents many of the social and political leaders of the colony. The struggle of the Quakers against their political disqualifications was a successful one. With the establishment of the Church of England in Maryland, however, certain religious disabilities were encountered. Nevertheless the Society of Friends continued its growth in size and influence in Maryland as it entered the 18th century.

[76] Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
[77] Third Haven Minutes, I, 31.
[78] *Ibid.*, I, 79.
[79] *Ibid.*, I, 30-31.
[80] *Ibid.*, I, 9.
[81] Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

SPRINGFIELD FARM OF CONOCOCHEAGUE

By MARY VERNON MISH [1]

THE history of "Springfield" must forever remain incomplete since, like Topsy, the rambling dwelling somehow or other "just growed." The interesting fact that it was once the home of General Otho Holland Williams, an officer under Washington during the Revolution, has not prevented it from sharing, along with the other early homes and sites of Western Maryland, a certain obscurity in regard to its origin.

Situated as Springfield is, at the junction of the once-important Conococheague Creek and the ever-important Potomac River, its history is inseparable from the saga of the land itself. The elongated main structure, representing a medley of architectural

[1] So many persons have generously assisted in the preparation of this paper that a complete list of contributors appears to be impossible to achieve. Nevertheless, a few names do take precedence. Among the foremost of these is the name of Dr. Arthur G. Tracey of Hampstead whose exhaustive researches on original surveys in the Land Office, Annapolis, were freely shared with the author. The Hall of Records, Annapolis, and the late Mr. Arthur Trader of the Land Office deserve their share of credit in the unweaving of a tortuous web of established anecdote.

Descendants of the Williams, Ross, and Humrichouse families who were important contributors toward solving the genealogical mysteries of their antecedents were Mrs. J. Frederick Fechtig of Hagerstown and Charleston, S. C.; Mr. J. Campbell Keighler of Providence, R. I.; Miss Mary Virginia Turner of Altoona, Pa.; and Mrs. Estys Tillard Gott of West River, Anne Arundel County, all members of the Williams family; Mr. F. Sims McGrath and Mr. Victor Weybright, both of New York, and descendants of the Ross family; and Mrs. William E. Post Duvall, born Humrichouse, who throughout the years opened Springfield to the appreciative inspection of the writer.

Among other contributors may be gratefully mentioned Mr. and Mrs. Glenn V. Kretsinger, recent owners of Springfield Farm, and their daughter, Mrs. Katherine Herbert who sketched the floor plan (redrawn for publication); Mrs. James F. Thompson, Jr., past Historian, Shenandoah Valley Chapter, NSDAR, Martinsburg, W. Va.; Mr. Parsons Newman and Judge Edward S. Delaplaine, both of Frederick; Miss Elizabeth Kieffer, Reference Librarian, Fackenthal Library, Lancaster, Pa.; Mrs. Lenore E. Flower, historian-genealogist, Carlisle, Pa.; and the late Mrs. Grace Stone Hetzel, genealogist, National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, of Wheeling, W. Va. Appreciation is expressed to the staff of the Maryland Historical Society. Many other persons were consulted, and to them as well as to those mentioned, the writer expresses sincerest gratitude.

units, is strung together like beads on a string. Over the years a procession of explorers, traders, cartographers, pioneer settlers, land speculators, Revolutionary officers, and Victorian landed gentry has helped to make present-day Springfield one of the most important, imperfect, and appealing homes of Western Maryland.

Historically speaking, the general site of Springfield Farm was always strategic. Here the Indian Road by the Treaty of Lancaster in 1744 dropped down from Pennsylvania and, fording the Potomac, crossed into the Valley of Virginia.[2] The name "Conneu Botham," an early patented tract on the Potomac, situated to the south of the ford, told a double story of an Indian landing-place and of some French-tongued trader's outpost on the frontier.[3] In addition, the great spring, apex of an aqueous triangle, was necessarily a major attraction, equaling the flow of Edmund Cartlidge's spring at "Fountain Rock"[4] and comparable to Jonathan Hager's water supply at "Hager's Fancy."[5] The son of a recent owner of Springfield Farm points out that artifacts lie in some abundance over the fields, and observes that it would be hard for anyone to think "that this was not once the site of an Indian village."[6]

In 1721 when Philemon Lloyd made his early map of the upper Potomac, he sketched in a cabin situated on the east bank of the Conococheague at the junction of this creek with the Potomac.[7] Graphically described as being situated at the mouth of the Conococheague, this cabin was designated by Lloyd as an "Indian trader's habitacon."[8] As traders providently settled in

[2] Matthew Page Andrews, *Tercentenary History of Maryland* (1925), I, 378n.

[3] Survey, Nov. 7, 1738, Prince George's Co., Env. No. 545, Land Office, Annapolis. Also survey, "Jack's Botham" at the mouth of the Conococheague, June 12, 1739, Liber LG No. 8, 56; patent, Dec. 12, 1739, Liber EI No, 2, 863.

[4] Patent, Dec. 16, 1739, Deed Book EI No. 6, 203, Land Office, Annapolis, courtesy Dr. Tracey.

[5] Survey, Dec. 16, 1738, Prince George's Co., Env. No. 1013, Land Office, Annapolis. Patent, July 18, 1739; Certificate of Survey, Liber LG, No. C, 43.

[6] Philip W. Kretsinger.

[7] W. B. Marye, "Patowmeck above ye Inhabitants," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXX (1935), 1-11. For Indian traders along the Potomac, see *ibid.*, 124-125, Frederick Gutheim, *The Potomac* (1949), p. 107. See also *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, III, 191, and M. H. Brackbill, "Peter Bezaillion's Road," *Papers of the Lancaster County Historical Society*, XLIII (1939), 8.

[8] *Archives of Maryland*, XXV, 394, 443. The proposal of the Governor of Maryland to meet at Charles Anderson's, "Indian trader," is geographically elastic. As Monocacy Hundred at that time included all taxables west of the Monocacy River (*Calendar of Maryland State Papers, No. 1, The Black Books* [1943], No. 272),

the neighborhood of aboriginal activity, speculation necessarily arises as to the possible existence there of some vanished Indian settlement.

In 1727, a few years after Lloyd's explorations, an Indian trader named Israel Friend was presented by the Indians with a vast tract which extended northwestward " 200 shoots of the arrow " from the mouth of the Antietam River.[9] Friend's Indian grant, containing 72 square miles, stretched northward to the mouth of the Conococheague, and included the site of Springfield Farm.[10] This claim was not binding on Lord Baltimore who in 1736 set aside for himself not only a large portion of this area, but also a " Reserve of three square miles " around the Manor which he called " Conococheague."

His Lordship's " Manor of Conococheague and Reserve " led to many complications in regard to the patenting of some 20,000 acres of land in present-day Washington County.[11] While Lord Baltimore proceeded to lease various plantations within the Manor and its Reserve, no land patents were issued until a late date.[12] In the ensuing years parcels of land passed from owner to owner, with financial transactions engaged in, but with no patents being issued by the proprietary. This unusual condition led to extraordinary complications, and the names of one-time lease-holders and records of their land dealings were lost to historical remembrance. It is safe to say that scores of pioneers lived on this land, leased it, left it, and moved westward with no satisfactory account ever having been made of their migration.

An early survey of the Potomac made in 1736 by Benjamin Winslow indicated no owners for this land lying south of the Conococheague Creek on his Lordship's Manor and Reserve.[13]

Anderson's campsite at " Monoknisia " remains undetermined. On April 12, 1734, his ford over the Potomac, near Dogtown, was mentioned, (Survey, Prince George's Co., Liber EI No. 5, 382, " Sprigg's Delight," courtesy Dr. Tracey); Lease, Apr. 13, 1744, Fred. Co., Va., Liber 1, 83, description of George Williams' land " at Opeckon " . . . " above the road from Charles Anderson. . . ."

[9] *Archives of Maryland*, XXV, 451. Original land grant, signed by five Indian chiefs, formerly in the possession of George T. Prather, Friend descendant, Clear Spring, Md. Mr. Prather presented this deed to the Land Office.

[10] Interview with Mr. Prather.

[11] Resurvey on " first intended bounds," Liber EI, No. 5, 580, Oct. 25, 1736, for 10,594 acres, Prince George's Co., Land Office, Annapolis.

Patent, Apr. 17, 1769 for 10,688 ¼ acres to John Morton Jordan, Liber BC & GS, 38, 72, Land Office, Annaolis, courtesy Dr. Tracey.

[12] G. M. Brumbaugh, *Maryland Records* (Baltimore, 1915-1928), II, 43 ff.

[13] James W. Foster, " Maps of the First Survey of the Potomac River, 1736-1737,"

FIREPLACE AND MANTEL
in Second Floor North Bedroom.

STAIR HALL
Showing Double Battened Door Toward the West.

THE SPRINGHOUSE

The Spring is Under the Porch.

THE STOREHOUSE

Now Used for Living Quarters.

That settlers were there, however, if only as "lessees," is indisputable.[14]

One of these earlier residents was Joseph Williams, "farmer," who lived on Limestone Hill, a tract which fell within the bounds of the Manor.[15] Williams was the father of Otho Holland Williams who was one day to own not only his father's plantation on the Potomac, but also the two adjoining tracts of "Leeds" and "Ezekiel's Inheritance," all of which in time comprised Springfield Farm and the town of Williamsport.

The 133 acres of "Limestone Hill" on Conococheague Manor were leased by Joseph Williams for twenty-one years on July 21, 1762.[16] "The tenant in possession" was one George Ross who on the previous June 23rd had leased, likewise on Conococheague Manor, an adjoining 300 acres for a like number of years from the Lord Proprietary, Ezekiel's Inheritance, the site of Springfield.[17] In so many words, Ross sub-let to Williams. The following year, on April 13, 1763, Williams conveyed "Limestone Hill" to George Ross for £300; the terms of the contract constituted those of a mortgage.[18]

A year later, again in April, "There came Joseph Williams, party to the within deed" and affixed his signature to the document in question.[19] The following week he was dead, as indicated by the Testamentary Proceedings of May 3, 1764.[20] George Ross was the administrator. As Prudence, Joseph's wife, was not mentioned, we must conclude that she had died prior to her husband and that their large family of eight children was now orphaned.

On July 12, 1768, Mercy, eighteen years of age and the eldest of the Williams children, became the mistress of Springfield Farm when she married George Ross, occupant of the original tracts which composed this site.[21] This marriage, however, was not destined to last long, for three years later Mercy was

William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine, 2d ser., XVIII (1938), 149-157.

[14] *The Black Books, op. cit.*, No. 357. Lease on Conococheague Manor, Oct, 1737. The tract already contained a house and orchards.

[15] Deed Book H, 666, Apr. 25, 1764, Frederick Co., Court House.

[16] Brumbaugh, II, 43.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] Deed Book H, 666, Frederick Co., Court House.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] Testamentary Proceedings (1763-4), 40, 327, Hall of Records.

[21] Undated letter of Mercy Kendal May to Mrs. Fechtig (now in her possession).

widowed.[22] She now had the necessity of making a home not only for her own brothers and sisters, but also for her two infant daughters, Prudence Holland Ross and Marion Ross.[23]

Fortunately for this young family, the property remained in Ross hands. It so happened that seven months after Limestone Hill had been conveyed by Joseph Williams to George Ross, original lessee, this tract together with Ezekiel's Inheritance had been resurveyed into "Ross's Purchase" by Dr. David Ross. Four years after George Ross' death these two tracts, totaling 528¾ acres, were patented to Dr. Ross.[24]

The Ross connection with the site of Springfield, as well as with the family of Williams, is highly important. Dr. David Ross, as half-brother of George Ross, Pennsylvania signer of the Declaration of Independence, and as brother-in-law of George Read, signer for Delaware, had great prestige and influence.[25] Marriage with Ariana Brice of Annapolis and apparent relationship with John Ross of "Bellevoir," Annapolis, had early added to his lustre. It is to be noted that his father was the Rev. George Ross of New Castle, Delaware, and his mother, Joanna Williams of Rhode Island, said to have been a descendant of Roger Williams.[26] It was indeed Roger Williams' daughter Mercy who inspired this name among many generations of Williams' descendants.[27]

The conclusion that George Ross of Conococheague was the son of Dr. Ross by a former marriage seems to be reasonable. While the young George Ross was first mentioned in 1755 as Commissary for Braddock at the mouth of the Conococheague,[28] from that time onward for a full decade the land purchases and business operations of Dr. David Ross and of George Ross were seen to overlap and to interlock.[29] The cycle of relationship

[22] *Ibid.* [23] *Ibid.*

[24] Patent Certificate, BC & GS No. 49, fol. 220, Frederick Co., Land Office, Annapolis.

[25] The ancestry of Dr. David Ross was kindly supplied from family papers by Mr. McGrath, a descendant through Dr. Ross' son, Major David Ross.

According to the family records of Miss Florence deCerkez, Dr. Ross' first wife was Eliza Cranston. Lenore Embick Flower, *Paper on the Parker-Grubb Memorials* (Carlisle, Pa., 1949), p. 10.

[26] J. W. Jordan, *Colonial Families of Philadelphia*, II, 1250; Flower, *loc. cit.*

[27] Genealogy compiled by Independence Chapter, NSDAR, 1949, *Roger Williams of Rhode Island*, see Index.

[28] *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, VI, 379.

[29] Deed Book K, 643, Frederick Co. Court House; *Pennsylvania Archives*, III, 197. Deed Book J, 529, Frederick Co. Court House.

among the early owners of the land which was eventually to comprise Springfield Farm, seemed to be completed when Dr. Ross served as administrator of George Ross' estate at the time of the latter's death in 1772.[30]

That the history of the site of Springfield Farm antedated George Ross' residence in the vicinity in 1755 is recorded fact. As early as 1750 a description of the survey on "Salisbury" referred to a contiguous tract as, "the land called Store House land. . . ." [31] Plotted out, Store House Land corresponds with Ezekiel's Inheritance.[32]

Prior to George Ross' ownership no known records tell the story of this land or of the storehouse upon it. There is a tradition in the community that the stone Springhouse at Springfield Farm was occupied by Col. Thomas Cresap. It seems not unlikely that the old Stillhouse, along with its adjacent Springhouse, was a focal point in fur-trade operations engaged in before Land Agents were too well informed on niceties of ownership in the hinterlands of Maryland. Whatever its enigmatic history, the fact remains that the storehouse was built upon unpatented land.

By superimposing the plats of Limestone Hill and of Ezekiel's Inheritance over a modern topographical map, it is discernable that Limestone Hill included most of present-day Williamsport, and that Ezekiel's Inheritance contained the sites of the main house on Springfield Farm, as well as the stone buildings now called respectively the Stillhouse and the Springhouse. From its location on the map, as well as from its architectural characteristics, it may be judged that the Stillhouse was the "Store House" of 1750, later used by George Ross for a similar purpose when he was Commissary at Conococheague during the French and Indian War.

That the main house on Springfield Farm, still standing today, was the residence of George Ross in the 1760s is likewise not impossible nor improbable. In addition, from the devotion which General Otho Holland Williams and his brother Colonel Elie Williams later evinced for it, the suggestion presents itself that

[30] Testamentary Proceedings (1771-72), 44, 606, Frederick Co., Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[31] Survey, Book No. 2, p. 79, Surveyor's Office, Washington Co. Court House.
[32] Plat drawn by Dr. Tracey.

Ross had early shared this home with the orphaned family of Joseph and Prudence Holland Williams.

Commissary Ross' death, followed only four years later by that of Dr. David Ross, must have represented severe losses for the young widow, Mercy. Although it is reasonable to assume that Dr. Ross had used the dwelling, Springfield, as a headquarters in Western Maryland for his speculative land operations and in the development of his numerous iron forges and furnaces, his will proves that his residence was at Bladensburgh.[33] It is notable that in his will Dr. Ross recommended the sale of all of his lands, other than those of the home property at Bladensburgh and of the Frederick Forge at the mouth of the Antietam.

After George Ross' death Springfield probably continued in the possession of his wife Mercy. She may even have temporarily remained there after her marriage on September 23, 1773, to Colonel John Stull, widower, and prior to her removal to her new home, "Millsborough."[34] It is to be recalled that Springfield Farm, as Ross's Purchase, was not patented to Dr. Ross until 1775, four years after George Ross' decease. Five years after the patent date, and following Dr. Ross' death, Otho Holland Williams had written to his sister Mercy that since the spring of 1775, he had spent very little time "at home."[35]

Exactly what happened in connection with Springfield Farm, following Dr. Ross' death, is also open to conjecture. It is probable that Otho Holland Williams had always planned to possess it, but that his dreams of ownership had been sadly shattered by the war years of the Revolution. From the steps which ensued it is certain that Williams' heart was centered on the tract which spelled "home" to him.

The legal steps are devious which finally resulted in General Williams' coming into possession of Springfield Farm. Furloughed at the end of the Southern Campaign in the Carolinas, where he had greatly distinguished himself, Williams arrived home, evidently intent on obtaining ownership of Springfield.[36]

[33] Prince George's Co. Wills, Box 13, folder 10 (1778), Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[34] Millsborough was probably the site of the old mill of John Stull, Sr., on the edge of Hagerstown. Colonel, later Judge, Stull acquired this.

[35] Nov. 24, 1780, Elizabeth Merritt (ed.), *Calendar of the General Otho Holland Williams Papers* (1940), pp. 29-30.

[36] Williams to Wm. Smallwood, July 20, 1782, and Williams to Nathanael Greene, July 22, 1782, *ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

It is not exactly known how the young man planned to raise the necessary funds to buy this estate, although, to be sure, his great friend Samuel Smith had written to him as early as the year 1780 that the commercial venture which he had undertaken for Williams seemed to be turning out well.[37]

Nor is it clear what transpired from the time that Ross's Purchase, with an additional 40¾ acres, was resurveyed into the 569½ acres of the "Garden of Eden" in 1782, until the time when it was jointly patented on June 3, 1788, to General Otho Holland Williams and to Colonel Leonard Marbury. Surveyed on May 24, 1782, for Williams and Marbury,[38] on June 13 of that year David Ross, son of Dr. David Ross, deceased, "assigned a warrant of resurvey to Col. Leonard Marbury who had purchased said original tract."[39] The larger part of this grant Marbury then assigned on September 19, 1783, to General Williams.[40]

This assignment begins, "Whereas a tract of land called Ross's purchase situate in the county aforesaid was conveyed to Denton Jacques of the said county and by him bargained and sold to me. . . ."[41] It is to be observed that in 1786 Major David Ross, as one of his father's executors, had deeded all of Ross's Purchase to Denton Jacques in return for "200 tons of pigg iron, fifteen tons of bar iron and also of the sum of five Shillings. . . ."[42] In February of the following year Jacques in turn deeded all of the original Ross' Purchase to Williams who paid £2900 for this tract of 528¾ acres.[43] Inasmuch as this property, then called the Garden of Eden, was surveyed for and patented to Williams and Marbury, the possibility exists that Major Ross "held a mortgage on the land, that he assigned the mortgage to Denton Jacques and that Jacques released the mortgage."[44]

If we followed popular tradition in regard to the home which

[37] Oct. 4, 1780, *ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

[38] Survey, May 24, 1782, Washington Co., Envelope No. 351, Land Office, Annapolis; June 3, 1788, Certificate Book IC No. D, 208.

[39] Warrant of Resurvey, IC No. C, 444, Frederick Co., Land Office, Annapolis.

[40] Envelope No. 351, Washington Co., Land Office, Annapolis.

[41] Denton Jacques, former owner of the Ft. Frederick Forge at Licking Creek (as opposed to the Frederick Forge at the mouth of the Antietam), was a nephew of the prominent land agent, Lancelot Jacques. Mortgage, Sept. 14, 1775, Frederick Co., BD No. 2, 70; Lease, Feb. 21, 1775, *ibid.*, BD No. 1, 180.

[42] Deed Book D, 632, Feb. 14, 1786, Washington Co. Court House.

[43] Deed Book E, 251, Feb. 20, 1787, *ibid.*

[44] Notes received by author from Dr. Tracey, 1950.

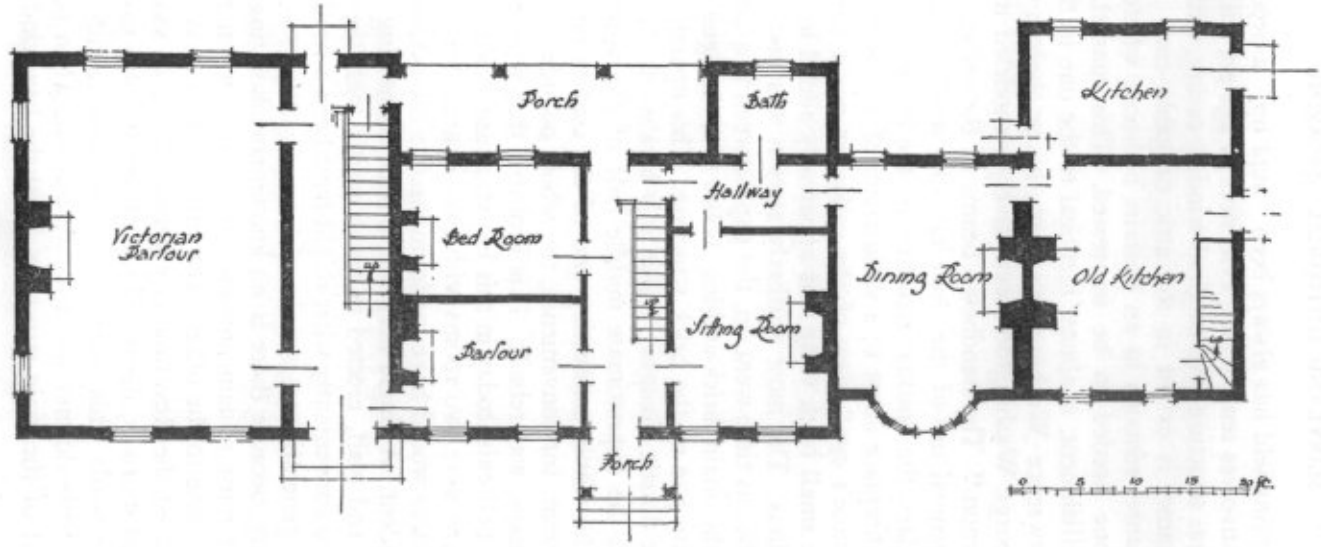
General Williams so painstakingly purchased for himself, we would say that he had "inherited" his property from his father. We would also report that the central portion of the main house—today known as Springfield—had been built by Joseph Williams when he "came to the mouth of the Conococheague in 1750." But research has proved that Joseph Williams' tract called Limestone Hill was not a part of, but was adjacent to, Ezekiel's Inheritance, the actual site of present-day Springfield Farm. The earliest extant records, as has been demonstrated, identify both of these original tracts as the property of George Ross, lawyer and merchant, a Scot by descent, and, along with the rest of his far-reaching clan, a canny land speculator.

That General Williams paid the substantial sum of £2900 for the original acreage of what was once Ross' Purchase would indicate that—for the year 1787—there were already considerable improvements upon this land. As Dr. David Ross did not reside at Springfield, and as Denton Jacques apparently was owner in name alone, it would appear that whatever building operations had been conducted on the estate were a carry-over from the occupation of the original owner, George Ross. In addition, a search through the local newspaper files of the period, covering the years of Williams' acquisition of the property and until three years after his death, disclosed no report of construction-work. A perusal of Williams' correspondence for the same period is equally unrevealing, although other improvements on other property are meticulously mentioned.

Architecturally, the central portion of Springfield, made of clapboarded bricks and logs, conforms with known types of frontier construction.[45] For its period, the dwelling is a large house of some importance, with its height of a full two-and-one-half stories; with its central hallways, upstairs and down; its conventional two rooms originally flanking the right and left sides, respectively. The battened double doors at either end of the entrance hall are unusual for Western Maryland.[46] Both pairs of doors have wooden bars which, slipped into place through wrought iron staples, still defy any unorthodox attempt at an entry.

[45] See Note 90.

[46] Two years ago the writer made a survey of over 200 old houses in the Washington Co., Md.–Berkeley Co., W. Va. area. Only two other similar sets of doors were noted, both on early type houses.



FIRST FLOOR PLAN OF SPRINGFIELD FARM

While Springfield has always been "kept up," a process which invariably involves remodeling, evidences of age are still apparent in the central structure. An original window-casing, with its wide, exposed frame, is extant in the attic or gable end. A simple, original mantel remains in an upstairs bedroom where, presumably, no one needed to be impressed. This mantel, a handsome embellishment, is almost identical to the one in the nuclear unit of Lawrence Washington's farm house, before the latter became George Washington's extensively remodeled mansion of Mount Vernon.[47] The handhewn beams of the cellar and of the attic, the general use of the chair rail, the smaller-than-ordinary panes of glass, the unusual structure of the house itself and the vast cellar fireplace attest to a valid claim of antiquity.

As a "mole's eye" view of the cellarless north addition will testify, this small brick wing was apparently added in two building operations. The most northerly section was once erected as a kitchen, but as time went on, the gap between this disconnected unit and the main brick-and-log house was bridged by neatly doubling the size of the brick structure. This operation brought about some drastic changes. It not only located the large kitchen fireplace in the approximate middle half of the wing, but also it altered the whole connecting end of the central portion.

In any event, for convenience, the whole outside north wall of the main house was rebuilt. It is probable that where one room and a back hall exist today in this log structure, prior to this early change, there were two rooms with two separate fireplaces. That these fireplaces would have made impossible the present arrangement is evident. A single fireplace, a back connecting hall and a bricked-up end wall, erected to blend neatly with the new brick wing, solved conveniently what might have been a heady problem for several generations.

Unhappily, because there is no known corroborating, recorded evidence, it must remain anyone's good guess when these units were added, one to the other. The original kitchen could readily have antedated the Revolutionary period. With its vast fireplace and inclosed stairway, its partial use of beaded pine paneling and mud-plaster walls, this room is of considerable interest. It is evident that the dormer windows were added when this portion became part of the main structure. That the bay window on the

[47] Thomas T. Waterman, *The Mansions of Virginia* (1946), 286, plate No. 1.

wing was not there until after 1879 is proved by a photograph taken at that date. The hooded bell, on the roof of this wing, once used for purposes of general alarum or for calling in the slaves from the fields, in later years was put to less dramatic use—that of calling the children of the family in to meals.[48]

The fourth and largest addition to Springfield was made long after the time of General Otho Holland Williams. This wing, erected in 1878 against the south wall of the now-central brick-and-log dwelling, must have been the pride and joy of its new owner, Charles W. Humrichouse. It was constructed of red brick in the best possible taste of the Victorian period. The drawing room, called " the parlor," was Washington County's largest, and the writer has seen, on occasion, one hundred guests comfortably seated around its perimeter. Until the last three or four years this room remained frozen in its past splendor, a striking example of rose-ringed Brussels carpet, rose-red draperies and lofty ceiling encircled with gilt cornices and molding. The glass-incased wax flowers were not missing, nor the small Victorian table in the center of the vast floor, nor, indeed, the " square " piano with the photograph album on its top. Elizabeth Barrett Browning could have entered this room, spread out her skirts and, with a sigh, complacently picked up her knitting. The only off-key note in this composition was a grim reminder of the new owner's pioneer ancestry—Christian Hawken's rifle, which stood at rest beside the marble mantel.

The present kitchen of Springfield, on the west side of the north wing, represented a kind of architectural bustle. Added by a later generation, it undoubtedly contributed to the comfort of the incumbent family; certainly from the esthetic point of view it added not one whit. Nevertheless, this unit, like all others, told its own story of how a house grew and continued to grow through succeeding generations.

A sixth unit made its phantom appearance with the knowledge that an earlier brick wing had stood where the Victorian structure was erected. Charles W. Humrichouse tore down this older section to make way for his own addition.[49] Who built this older part of the house and when remains a mystery.

From the east front Springfield is especially attractive, grandly

[48] Information received from Mrs. Duvall.
[49] *Ibid.*

triumphing over Victorian wings and bays. On the central clapboarded section the old pedimented two-story porch, with its squared columns and half-moon window in the apex, is given a gratifyingly mellowed air by its " half-concealing, half-revealing " wisteria vine. From the west or rear the house looks larger and a bit forgotten, no longer reminiscent of the days when it may have faced toward the setting sun, toward its great free-flowing spring only a stone's throw away, and toward the lordly Potomac, three-quarters of a mile from its door. Around the house still tower a few lofty trees. Some fragrant lilac bushes and a solitary grafted hawthorn tree which, blossoming in the spring in a burst of mingling light and dark blooms, attest to the horticultural enterprise of some early owner. Completely gone on the long entrance avenue are the clipped arborvitae, and gone, too, is the manicured English garden which once flowered on the east side of the sweeping expanse of front lawn.[50] Today only a few persons are left who can recall this past grandeur.

West of Springfield, a few yards from the Springhouse and comfortably built over its own " fountain," is the enchanting Stillhouse. In the days of the Potomac Company and of the later-developed C. & O. Canal, this stone building was used for the purpose of converting the Williams brothers' grain into whiskey. In its heyday there were many stillhouses around Williamsport, which was a central shipping-point for Georgetown, terminus for the Potomac water-route.

But this particular building would seem to antedate the great days of commercial traffic on the River and the Canal, and, in spite of restoration—which was fortunately sympathetic—shows practical evidence, under examination, of sustaining the documentary records pertaining to a " Store House " on the site of Ezekiel's Inheritance. Made of rough fieldstones, its north wall washed by the spring-fed waters of its miniature lake, its east front sheltered by its frowning, over-hung roof, the Stillhouse delights every antiquarian. Here and there are occasional signs of the exposed, wide door- and window-frames, with wooden pins in the two upper corners. The battened, iron-hung cellar door as well as the ventilators which, like lancet-slits, pierce the north wall are further evidence of its antiquity.

[50] *Ibid.*

Twenty feet away, in front of the Stillhouse, is the Springhouse, likewise a time-weathered structure of rough fieldstones. The great spring, which now prosaically feeds water into the main house by way of a pipeline, flows out from the base of a limestone ledge, its perimeter edged by a semi-circle of stone, cut by some unknown, now long-forgotten mason. Examination proves that no chimney or fireplaces ever existed in this building, a condition which rules out the possibility of its having been built for use as a frontier home.

Around the main house still cluster the ice-house, smokehouse "office," and carriage-sheds. Down the driveway are scattered the various farm buildings, including the tenant-house and the vast barn with its limestone-walled inclosure.

A few yards north of the Springhouse, and a few feet west of the tenant-house, can be seen the remains of a rectangular stone foundation where, long ago, an early log-cabin stood. A dozen feet away is a great stone chimney with a later-built shed disinterestedly attached to it. Both the chimney and the aforementioned foundation, unrelated architectural units, are symbols of some untold story of the land upon which they rest.

General Williams, although the most prominent of Springfield Farm's owners, held this property the shortest number of years and probably occupied it least of all of those who could claim actual residence. Nevertheless, much of Springfield's fame is wrapped up in the personal glory which accrued to the name of this Revolutionary officer.

That General Otho Holland Williams had expected to live out his life at Springfield is almost certain, but his early appointment as Naval Officer for the Port of Baltimore,[51] and his marriage to Mary Smith, daughter of the prominent William Smith of Baltimore, changed his plans.[52] As is clear from his correspondence, the General by 1787 was in residence in Baltimore.[53] Meanwhile, the General's brother, Colonel Elie Williams, who had probably lived the major portion of his life at Springfield, maintained his residence there, as the letters written by both brothers testify.

[51] Jan. 6, 1783, Merritt, *Calendar, op. cit.*, p. 74.
[52] Family data from Mr. Keighler, grandson of Mrs. J. Campbell White, direct descendant of General Williams.
[53] Williams to Philip Thomas, Aug. 29, 1787, Merritt, *Calendar, op. cit.*, p. 148.

Although General Williams lived but a short time at Springfield, it was there his major interests centered. In November, 1786, an act was passed which created under its founder's guidance the Town of Williamsport.[54]

Following its establishment, Williamsport was swept up into sudden fame. By an Act of Congress, passed July 16, 1790, it was theoretically possible that the Capital of the United States would be located there.[55] General Williams' father-in-law, Representative William Smith, and Major David Ross, who was likewise a Representative, had both strived to bring this about.[56]

As a result of the violent controversy over the selection of a suitable location for the National Capital, President Washington visited Williamsport on October 20, 1790.[57] Although the President later decided in favor of the present site at Washington, and Congress amended its original Act on the following March 3, the excitement over the Presidential stopover was never forgotten.[58]

That President Washington stayed at Springfield Farm at the time of this particular Williamsport visit is likely for as soon as General Williams learned of the proposed trip of inspection, he immediately forwarded a letter of introduction for the benefit of his friend Dr. Thomas of Frederick, with instructions that the letter be forwarded to Colonel Elie Williams "so as to be delivered before the Pres[ident] arrives at Williamsport."[59] Regrettably, the local newspaper, *The Washington Spy,* reported none of the particulars of the President's visit, but happily caroled that

> the President visited Hagers-Town yesterday afternoon [and that] this morning [he left for Williamsport] in order to take passage down that noble River (the American Thames) which will be proud to waft him home.[60]

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[54] J. T. Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1882), II, 1222-23.
[55] Acts of Congress, July 16, 1790, and March 3, 1791, *Annals of the Congress of the United States* (Washington, 1834), First Congress, II, 2234-2235, 2340-2341.
[56] Williams to Ross, Sept. 1, 1788; Smith to Williams, Aug. 17 and 31, 1789, and July 15, 1790. Merritt, *Calendar,* pp. 156, 187-188, 189, 220.
[57] *Washington Spy,* October 21, 1790.
[58] Beside the Acts (cited in Note 55), see Tobias Lear, *Observations on the River Potomack* (New York, 1793) or Samuel T. Chambers' edition of the Lear pamphlet (Baltimore, 1940).
[59] Oct. 20, 1790. Merritt, *Calendar, op. cit.,* p. 226.
[60] Oct. 21, 1790.

Of this visit, however, one historian later wrote,

> He [Washington] pointed out to his host, as they stood at the fountain on Springfield farm, an old hut, which he said was the only improvement to be seen on the face of the country thirty years before. This hut had been the dwelling of the noted Colonel Cresap.[61]

As Otho Holland Williams was in Baltimore, the President's host was Colonel Elie Williams, provided, no doubt, with a letter of introduction from his brother.

Many years later, Colonel Elie Williams' son, who was General Otho Holland Williams II recalled the President's visit to Springfield.[62] In addition, Sarah Sargent Williams, daughter of General O. H. Williams II maintained the glamor of the occasion by keeping throughout the years a white linen tablecloth upon which General Washington had spilled coffee during his Springfield visit. This tablecloth, never washed, from time to time was taken out of its obscurity and proudly exhibited to family and to friends.[63]

When General Williams died in 1794, he left his wife Mary, her father William Smith, his friend Dr. Philip Thomas, and his brother Elie Williams as his executors.[64] To Elie he willed the Garden of Eden, namely, Springfield. Making certain bequests to various members of his family, he asked that the remainder of his estate be equally divided between his wife and their children, when the latter should come of age.

Colonel Elie Williams, who inherited the Garden of Eden from his brother, was a man of parts in his own right. As manager of

[61] Scharf, *ibid.*, II, 1223. While it is definitely established that Washington was in Williamsport in 1790, there are inaccuracies concerning accounts of the visit. General Otho Holland Williams II could not have been the "small boy" who sat on General Washington's knee, as the former was then, according to family records, fifteen years old. Mrs. Gott, descendant, has data which places a second visit at Springfield on October 14 and 15, 1794. During a trip made by Washington at the time of the Whiskey Rebellion, he wrote on October 13, 1794, "Breakfasted at Greencastle 10 miles [from Chambersburg], and lodged at Williamport 14 miles further." Williamsport was described as "being on the Banks of the Potomac at the mouth of Conagocheague." (J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed.), *The Diaries of George Washington, 1784-1799* (1925), IV, 209-219). Although General Otho Holland Williams had died less than three weeks prior to this visit of 1794, Col. Elie Williams may have once more played host to the President and to his entourage.

[62] "E. W. B." (Elizabeth Williams Bell, great-great-granddaughter of Col. Elie Williams) in Baltimore *Sun*, April 23, 1905.

[63] Interview with Mrs. Fechtig, who used to watch her grandmother show off this tablecloth.

[64] Copy of will, Frederick Co. Court House, Liber BGM, No. 3, p. 38; probated Sept. 24, 1794.

Springfield Farm for approximately 40 years, he added distinct lustre to the history of this estate. His notable services as Quartermaster of Militia in the Revolution, as well as similar services for the Harmar Campaign, his assignment as president of the commission to lay out the National Road, and as surveyor for the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal, so testify.[65]

In due course, Colonel Williams' many obligations and the social prominence of his wife, Barbara (Grosh) Williams, along with the demands of their large family, undoubtedly lured them away from residence at Williamsport.[66] For about a decade before his death, it would therefore appear that Colonel Williams had not been either manager or owner of Springfield Farm.[67] Furthermore, he may not have lived at Springfield for almost 30 years, from the time when he had turned it over to a tenant and made his own permanent residence in Hagerstown.[68] In spite of this property's having been willed to Colonel Williams, Edward Greene Williams, son of General Williams, came into possession of the estate about 1810. The War of 1812 undoubtedly interfered with his taking possession, but by 1814 he was seemingly entrenched at Springfield.[69] In the meantime, his Uncle Elie lived in Georgetown and his brother, William Elie Williams, had come into his share of his father's estate and took over the plantation called Ceresville, near Frederick.[70]

Throughout the years of Colonel Elie Williams' management of Springfield, none of his or General Williams' letters mention any building operations on the farm. As the two brothers corresponded about details of construction work upon other properties, omission of similar discussion in regard to Springfield would indicate that no important additions or changes were made over a long period.

[65] Scharf, *ibid.*, II, 978, 1233; *Congressional Record,* 2nd Session, Ninth Congress, Jan. 31, 1807. E. G. Greene to W. E. Williams, Sept. 24, 1822. Merritt, *Calendar, op. cit.*, pp. 401-402.

[66] The family was probably in residence in Georgetown in 1815. Elie Williams to W. E. Williams, Feb. 23, 1815. Merritt, *Calendar, op. cit.*, p. 357.

[67] E. G. Williams to W. E. Williams, June 28, 1814. Merritt, *Calendar, op. cit.*, p. 353.

[68] O. H. Williams to Philip Thomas, Mar. 14, 1792. *Ibid.*, p. 252. Col. Elie Williams had maintained a town house in Hagerstown for many years (Washington Co. Surveyor's Office, Book No. 2, 137, Apr. 12, 1784).

[69] See Note 67. The writer could discover no legal instrument in regard to this transfer.

[70] Wm. Smith to W. E. Williams, Merritt, *Calendar, op. cit.*, p. 346.

While General Williams employed the name of "Springfield" only once in his long correspondence, his son, Edward Greene Williams, used the name freely.[71] In fact, in the latter's first recorded message to his brother, William Elie, he used the address of "Springfield," and said that he was busy "at home."[72]

Edward Greene Williams was a man of some distinction, and during his ownership Springfield undoubtedly rose to the rank of a great estate. He married the daughter of William Gilmor, Anne, who brought to bear her own family's influence upon the household at Conococheague.[73] That this couple had a mutual great-grandfather in the person of Isaac Smith, Jr., of Baltimore, was one of the more auspicious facts concerning this marriage.[74]

When Edward Greene Williams lived at Springfield, the life of the country gentry in Washington County was in its heyday. That he loved his farm and his days spent upon it, is evident when he wrote that his wheat was "the brag field of the County"; that he had caught cold from wet feet in his enthusiasm to transfer trout from the mountain freshets to his spring; that his wonderful crops of the year 1818 were being gathered in by his "Virginia tenantry" who were good reapers. In this same year he spoke of "their" threshing-machine at Ringgold's, and of its first use in Washington County. On October 9 he said that he was about to see the operation of the thresher, (probably at Springfield), and that he was also expecting to try "one of the corn shellers."[75]

There must have been many parties at Springfield during these roseate years, for his father's old friend Dr. Richard Pindell,[76] in 1816 wrote[77] from Kentucky to Edward Greene Williams that he missed "the truly convivial parties we used to enjoy in my old walks about Hager's Town, Fountain Rock,[78] Springfield, Mount Pelier[79] and Long Meadows."[80] Among the more important

[71] See Note 68.
[72] See Note 67.
[73] Family data in possession of Mr. Keighler.
[74] *Ibid.*
[75] E. G. Williams to W. E. Williams, Oct. 9, 1818. Merritt, *Calendar, op. cit.*, pp. 393-394.
[76] Surgeon, 1st Md. Regt. under O. H. Williams, 1777; with Greene, under Williams, until end of Revolution.
[77] Sept. 16, 1816, Merritt, *Calendar, op. cit.*, pp. 365-366.
[78] Home of Gen. Samuel Ringgold, Washington Co.; now site of St. James School.
[79] Home of John Thomson Mason, Clear Spring, Md. Mason was a nephew of George Mason of Va.
[80] Home of Col. Thomas Hart, northeast of Hagerstown. Hart was father-in-law to Dr. Pindell and to Henry Clay.

guests at Springfield at this time were members of the illustrious Patterson family, including the famous Betsy.

During General Edward Greene Williams' residency at Springfield, only one reference was made to improvements on the house. In a letter to his brother William Elie of Ceresville, he urged that "the slate Man" should come immediately to cover the dwelling "handsomely and durably." [81]

Today one vibrant memento of this family's occupancy remains. On some anniversary now forgotten, or merely through some whimsy of the moment, General Williams and his wife had inscribed on one of the small panes of glass in the front central portion of Springfield, "Edward and Anne Williams, June 12, 1821." The signatures are there for all to wonder at.

When General Edward Greene Williams died on February 7, 1829, he left a will which specified that his estate was to be divided between his wife and his daughter, Mary Smith Williams, when the latter should have attained her eighteenth year.[82] The management of all his family affairs he entrusted to the care of his father-in-law, William Gilmor of Baltimore.

The precise status of Springfield during the ensuing years is not known. It was apparently operated by farm managers under the eagle eye of William Gilmor. One of these managers, the able Samuel Wishard, was said to have farmed the property some time prior to the Civil War. In any event, through the Court of Chancery, the property eventually came into the hands of Mary Smith Williams. Her husband, the Rev. John Campbell White, a brother of Governor William Pinkney Whyte of Virginia, was a trustee for the estate.[83]

During the Reverend and Mrs. White's ownership of Springfield the Civil War shattered the peace of the country and of Washington County. Their farm was taken over as a Union campsite. A signal-tower was erected on the hill in the woods to the northeast, and the virgin timber was cut for military needs.[84] Mrs. White later said that the "giant oak and elm trees" were

[81] July 17, 1817, *ibid.*, p. 376.
[82] Will Book C, Apr. 11, 1829.
[83] Family disagreement changed the spelling of the names of the two White/Whyte brothers. Their grandfather was William Pinkney, U. S. Senator, and Minister to England, Russia, and Italy. For obituary of Mrs. J. Campbell White see Baltimore *Sun*, May 2, 1907.
[84] Interview with Mrs. Duvall.

" felled to build camp quarters, and for four years the depredations incident to war despoiled its beauty," a primeval beauty which no one can today recollect.[85] For this reason, among others, Mrs. White and her husband decided to part with Springfield Farm. By virtue of their Ross connections, the Williams family had been associated with the estate for a full century when it was finally sold at the end of the Civil War.

The new owner, Charles W. Humrichouse, a Baltimore sugar merchant, purchased Springfield Farm on April 8, 1864. For the sum of $16,000, he acquired " part of a tract known as ' Garden of Eden,' part of a tract known as ' Leeds ' and part of the tract called Number 7, containing 211 acres, 13 rods and 10 perches." [86]

At this period the farm and buildings must have been in poor repair, for the premises had been in the hands of tenant farmers during the war years. At the beginning of the Civil War the house had been occupied by the Febrey family; later by a Mrs. Lancaster and her three sons, Benjamin, Jacob and William, who were in residence when the property was sold to Mr. Humrichouse.[87]

Under new ownership Springfield blossomed once again. The great Victorian wing was added and, on the grounds, unusual shrubs and evergreens were planted. A faded photograph is still extant which shows the clipped pyramidal and prostrate varieties of arborvitae which lined the long entrance avenue. From the house the close-cut and well-trimmed lawns spread out on the east toward the inclosed, formal English-type garden, and, to the west, toward the naturalized area with its miniature lake, steep-banked springs and tumbling creek, which embowered the Stillhouse and Springhouse.

In 1879 Charles Humrichouse retired to Springfield and lived there until his death on March 1, 1903, aged seventy-nine. For a quarter of a century, by closely supervising his property, he had made Springfield " a model farm, and set an example in methods of farming which was an advantage to the whole community." [88]

Like the previous owners of Springfield, the Humrichouse family had many interesting antecedents and connections, among them the legendary Rev. Christian Frederick Post of the French

[85] Emily Emerson Lantz, " Maryland Heraldry," in Baltimore *Sun*, Apr. 2, 1905.
[86] Deed Book IN, 17, Washington Co., May 24, 1864.
[87] Williamsport Chamber of Commerce, *Williamsport and Vicinity* (1934).
[88] Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 1238.

and Indian War period, the heroic Captain Peter Humrichouse of the Revolution, and the now-famous gunsmith, Christian Hawken. Through Christian Hawken's granddaughter Mary, Charles Humrichouse had four children who, with their descendants, in time became known as The Humrichouse Heirs. One of Mr. Humrichouse's granddaughters, Mrs. John Ridgely, Sr., became mistress of Hampton.[89]

The old cliché that "Time and tide wait for no man" is well exemplified in the present history of Springfield. For the better part of a century, under Humrichouse management, the house and farm held a distinctive place in the community. Well-tended under direction of the Heirs, it was used somewhat as a refuge in both sickness and health. The Christmas "At Homes" were the order of the day, and here, more than at any other Washington County home, the country gentry were annually wont to present themselves, right up until the blast at Pearl Harbor. Springfield-cured ham, aged in the old smokehouse, and eggnogg and beaten biscuits, made in the Maryland tradition, tempted the guests, while at the same time the hospitality of the various members of the family set a high level for entertaining.

World War II, along with the subsequent death of Charles Humrichouse, grandson of the first of that name to own Springfield, changed a traditional way of living. In 1948 the entire property was sold by the Humrichouse Heirs to Mr. and Mrs. Glenn V. Kretsinger of Williamsport. The oldest and central portion of the house, with small brick wing attached, remained the home of Mrs. William E. Post Duvall, granddaughter of Charles W. Humrichouse. The Stillhouse was purchased back from the estate in 1949 by another granddaughter, Mrs. C. Goodloe Edgar of Washington and Detroit.

The character of the farm has, of necessity, changed with the changing times. Under the management of Mr. Kretsinger Springfield Farm, for the first time, assumed 20th century coloration. Near the entrance avenue a drive-in theater was situated on the Williamsport-Hagerstown highway. Building lots were sold off this frontage, as well as off the south margin of the property on the Boonsboro-Williamsport turnpike. The Victorian wing was remodeled as the residence of the owners, with the full-

[89] H. H. Humrichouse, *Rev. Christian Post and Peter Humrichouse* (1913).

length downstairs windows "bricked up" to standard size, the high ceilings lowered, the "parlor" divided in the best modern manner into a still large living room with a separate dining room kitchen. The "office" and the Springhouse were remodeled into individual housing units. It is therefore to be seen that the days when one family dominated the whole have definitely passed. Still in appreciative hands, however, the house itself survives these transformations which were made, not through callous disregard, but rather through the demands of a changing world.

In April, 1952, this historic plantation somewhat unexpectedly again changed hands. Purchased by Mr. and Mrs. W. Howard Roney of Hagerstown, the main house is destined to undergo additional structural modifications which once more will adapt it to the current needs of an incumbent family.[90] While these last few years have been turbulent ones in its history, modern vicissitudes have, however, touched but lightly upon the shell of an old and honored house. The spirit of hospitality which this property has always inspired continues in its seemingly endless way. Because of this and similar intangibles, Springfield Farm can still turn back the imagination to other more opulent times.

[90] In July of this year (1952) Mr. Roney invited the writer to look over Springfield in its dismantled state. The walls of the central unit, stripped of plaster, were extraordinarily interesting. A framework of heavy wooden-pinned timbers supported the window and door-frame apertures; the walls were further braced by diagonally placed beams filled in with a nogging of small, soft bricks. This structural plan, rarely found today, and reminiscent of 15th and 16th century English architecture, has a single counterpart in Frederick County's sorely neglected Mill Pond House (made of stone, timber, and wattling and presumably built prior to 1746 by Jacob Stoner who already had a mill on this tract).

The end walls of the central unit are made of large bricks, and the construction, free of diagonally placed timbers and nogging, is obviously later than that of the front and back walls. In addition, no bonding at the corners is evident—a condition which further supports the previously expressed theory that structural changes were made at some indeterminate time.

High up on one of these end walls the workmen recently discovered the date "1776," followed by the signatures of "four or five men." Unfortunately, the names were neither then recorded nor are they now remembered. A window, apparently bricked up when the small, adjoining north wing was added, occupied this uniformly plastered area. This architectural patchwork, combined with the finding of dated signatures, confirms the assumption that the north wing, as well as the central structure, was pre-Revolutionary. As far back as can be recollected this particular wall-space, recessed between the chimney-breast and the front wall, was snugly filled by a large Victorian wardrobe, used as a cupboard. Presumably, it had been in place, at the very latest, since 1879 when Charles W. Humrichouse had finally retired to Springfield.

A JOHN HANCOCK LETTER WRITTEN WHEN CONGRESS WAS LEAVING BALTIMORE TOWN *

WHEN General Washington retreated across the Delaware to Trenton on December 8, 1776, he left the route to Philadelphia in a defenceless position. The Continental Congress decided that its seat of government was about to be captured by the British and on December 12 passed a resolution to adjourn from Philadelphia and meet in Baltimore on the 20th.[1] So it happened that for a few months Baltimore Town in Maryland became the refuge for the Congress of the newly-formed United States.

Upon arrival in Baltimore the delegates were keenly disappointed with the new location for Congress. Oliver Wolcott believed that Baltimore was infinitely the most dirty place he ever was in. William Hooper called it a " dirty infamous extravagant hole " which the devil had reserved to himself. Others echoed the same sentiments about the mud and filth of Baltimore, a complaint which was matched only by protests at the high cost of living in the Maryland town.[2] Added to the physical discomfitures of the delegates was their irritation at having left themselves open to ridicule and criticism by their hasty " flight " from Philadelphia, for Howe had not advanced upon Philadelphia as expected.

Among those who thought that moving to Baltimore had been a mistake was John Hancock, President of Congress, and he was

* Prepared for publication by the Associate Editor.

[1] W. C. Ford (ed.), *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington, 1906), VI, 1027.

[2] A number of these letters of complaint about Baltimore can be found in Edmund C. Burnett, *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1923), II. See also Edith Rossiter Bevan, " The Continental Congress in Baltimore, Dec. 20, 1776, to Feb. 27, 1777," *The Maryland Historical Magazine,* XLII (1947), 21-28.

impatient for a return to Philadelphia. Hancock had found moving his regal entourage and his "First Lady" to Baltimore a great inconvenience and he was dissatisfied with the accommodations in the congested town. He also felt that the absence of Congress from Philadelphia was a damper on the spirits of the Patriots and that a return to that city would give a new spring to their cause.[3] Furthermore, it was cumbersome and inefficient trying to keep in touch with the affairs of the army through the Committee of Congress in Philadelphia, headed by Robert Morris. Bad roads and the frequent stoppage of despatches at the Susquehanna Ferry made communications slow and undependable.

On February 17, 1777, Congress decided to adjourn from Baltimore on the 25th and meet in Philadelphia on March 5. After the resolution of adjournment was passed, Hancock wrote the following letter[4] to Robert Morris which reveals his impatience to get started towards Philadelphia:

Baltimore Febr^{y}. 18th. 1777

My Dear Sir

I have Detain'd the Express to this morng. waiting for some Papers from the Printer, but as he has disappointed me, I Send him off, and am to Acquaint you that yesterday I Rec'd Directions from Congress, to Adjourn on Tuesday next 25th Ins^{t}. from the Town of Baltimore to the *City of Philadelphia*, this I dare Say will afford you pleasure, and I am to Request that immediately on Receipt of this you will please to Issue orders to Mr Hiltsheimer for four good cover'd Waggons, with four good Horses & a sober Driver to each, to be Sent to me with all possible Dispatch to Convey down to Philad^{a}. the Publick Papers &c, do let them be well Chosen, and I beg your immediate Attention to this—

The Inclos'd Resolves when you have perus'd them, do forward to the Gen^{l}. by any Oppor[tunit]y.—

As I shall soon have the pleasure of seeing you in Philad^{a}. I shall not add, but Refer what I have farther to Say for a social hour If, my Friend, I can be of any Service to Mrs Morris on my way, let me know it, & you may Depend I shall most chearfully obey you, would you Chuse her to Come in Company with us, I will Call for her & Conduct her with all the

[3] John Hancock to Robert Morris, Jan. 14, 1777, *Collections of New York Historical Society*, XI (1878), 414.

[4] This letter was purchased from a dealer by the Maryland Historical Society. Part of it was published in Burnett, *Letters*, II, 260 (letter 362).

Safety & Care in my power Give me but a hint, & it shall be Complied with—I Judge I shall be in Philad[a]. by Saturday or Sunday week,

God Bless you, Remember me to all friends

I am

Yours affection[e] Friend &c

Your Letters I have Rec'd to 15th Ins[t]. John Hancock

Don't forget the Waggons
Did you Send the Express to Boston
as desir'd in mine of 10 Jany. with the Letter then Inclos'd, I have had no Return—
The North Carolina Express is impatient
Money went off yesterday, for you, Gen[l] Mifflin & Council of Safety—
Hon[l] Mr Morris—

Later the same day Hancock wrote another letter again urging Morris to " hurry on the waggons," since he couldn't move without them.[5] Morris, however, sent a message from General Washington instead of the wagons.[6] Washington felt that America was in one of its most critical periods, even though the enemy was not yet in actual motion, and he strongly urged Congress to delay the return to Philadelphia.[7] As a consequence of the combined pressure from Washington and Morris, Congress suspended its removal for a few days,[8] but on February 27 decided to adjourn and meet in Philadelphia on the previously arranged date of March 5th. This gave Hancock even less time to get wagons for removing his baggage before Congress sat again.

On the same day that the adjournment resolution was passed Hancock received the distressing information that Morris had countermanded his orders for wagons.[9] Hancock promptly wrote to Morris complaining that his action now forced him to leave both State Papers and the whole of his family behind while he set off in great mortification at the embarrassment Morris had inadvertantly caused him. " For God's Sake," he begged, " hurry the

[5] Burnett, *Letters,* II, 260 (footnote 2, letter 362).
[6] Committee in Philadelphia to George Washington, Feb. 22, 1777, Burnett, *Letters,* II, 272.
[7] Washington to Joseph Reed, Feb. 23, 1777, John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington* (Washington, 1932), VII, 192.
[8] The President of Congress (John Hancock) to Robert Morris, Feb. 26, 1777, Burnett, *Letters,* II, 281.
[9] John Hancock to Robert Morris, Feb. 27, 1777, Burnett, *Letters,* II, 286.

Waggons along." [10] There was no mistaking the eagerness of the Continental Congress's President to leave Baltimore behind and join his friends in Philadelphia for a " social hour."

The next time Congress took flight from Philadelphia (September, 1777) it chose Lancaster, then York, Pennsylvania, for its place of exile. No interest was shown in returning to the Maryland town of high prices and mud.

[10] *Ibid.*

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Portraits and Miniatures by Charles Willson Peale. By CHARLES COLEMAN SELLERS. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1952. 369 pp. $5.

The author of this book, Charles Coleman Sellers, a great-great-grandson of Charles Willson Peale, inherited his ancestor's studio records, manuscript autobiography, diaries, and letter-books, and other manuscript material which has made it possible for him to make a nearly complete listing of the portraits and miniatures by Peale, although there are still a few gaps in the record. By tireless search and research over many years Mr. Sellers has been able to list 1,046 portraits painted by Peale, including 57 of Washington and five of Mrs. Washington. Of the 1,046 known portraits and miniatures he has traced, 451 of these are reproduced in the illustrations.

The story of Peale's long life and his many diversified activities as harness maker, silversmith, watch maker, soldier, painter, and museum proprietor has already been told in an entertaining and scholarly manner by Mr. Sellers in his two Peale biographies which have already appeared: *The Artist of the Revolution: The Early Life of Charles Willson Peale,* published in 1939, and *Charles Willson Peale: Later Life,* published in 1947. It may be added that the latter volume, as does this, appears under the imprint of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, the city where the artist spent the last fifty years of his long life. It is of interest to note that most of the manuscript material upon which these two books are based, as well as the source material for this volume on the paintings, now under review, have recently passed into the possession of this, the oldest American learned society.

The author in this volume lists alphabetically under the names of the subjects, all the known Peale paintings, with brief biographical notes, short descriptions, and critical appraisals of each, together with the date of painting, provenance, and present ownership. These invaluable notes are followed by a chronological listing of the paintings, and in the case where there is no recorded date, by an approximate dating based on stylistic grounds; this chronological listing is especially valuable as it is a year by year record of the places in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and elsewhere, where Peale was painting in a given year. A further listing under present owners shows how very many paintings have passed by descent from a subject to a descendant. These listings reveal how comparatively few of his paintings have been lost or have disappeared from view. It is to be hoped that the

present volume may be the means of bringing some of these lost paintings to light. Of paramount interest is the illustrated section with excellent reproductions of 451 portraits and miniatures; of these 142, nearly a third, are of Marylanders. These paintings are arranged in chronological order and show in a striking way the development of Peale's art over the sixty-four years for which we have examples. This development is discussed in a charming way by the author in his Introduction.

Charles Willson Peale, the Colonial, Revolutionary, and post-Revolutionary portrait painter, who was born in 1741 near Queenstown, Queen Anne's County, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, made his home in Maryland until he was thirty-five years old, and spent the last fifty years of his active life in Philadelphia; here he died at the age of eighty-five. Apprenticed to a saddler in Annapolis in 1753, at the age of twelve, to serve until he was twenty-one, he successively also tried his versatile hand as saddler, silversmith, and watchmaker, and finally, after early attempts, at the age of twenty-two as a limner, having received his first instruction in painting from John Hesselius, the Annapolis portrait painter, to whom he gave a saddle in exchange for painting lessons.

Marylanders are especially interested in Charles Willson Peale as we have the record of more than 150 miniatures and portraits of them painted by him between 1763 and 1776, and later of about 150 more. It was in the year 1776 that he left Annapolis and went to join Washington's army in Philadelphia, the city which thereafter became his home. It was early in his Annapolis painting career, in the 1760s, that he twice left Maryland. In 1765, in a great hurry, to escape importunate creditors, he made a precipitous sea voyage to Newburyport and to Boston where he visited Copley's "picture room." In 1767, with the financial help of influential Annapolis friends, he went to London, where for two years he studied painting under Benjamin West. It was while in London that Peale, to add to his meagre resources, first took up miniature painting; this he followed with great success until 1786, when in order to help his brother James he gave up painting in-the-small, turning over whenever possible work of this kind to his struggling younger brother.

Peale painted quite actively in Philadelphia in the later seventies, the eighties, and the early nineties, and in these last two decades found time to make several painting expeditions to Annapolis, Baltimore, and the Maryland Eastern Shore. His output in both Maryland and Pennsylvania between 1792 and 1815 was comparatively small, although the financial pressure caused by a growing family and the expenses incident to the building and maintenance of his picture gallery and museum forced him even in old age to take up the brush again and even to make occasional trips to Maryland in his seventies and eighties. Some 150 Marylanders were painted by him during the Revolution and thereafter.

Peale's known portraits painted before his stay in London, although few in number, show the influence of Hesselius, an influence which was entirely lost after his study under West, when he developed a more pleasing, finished, and sophisticated style. The twenty-five years following his

London stay saw Peale perhaps at his best. Attention is drawn by Mr. Sellers to the fact that it was not until after the Revolution that he made a conscious effort to flatter his women subjects, "to gratify the fair," as the painter expressed it; before that emphasis was perhaps more on character and "sensitivity" than on a "pleasing countenance." He painted more children than any other early American artist, and these delightfully, giving them so often a characteristic elfin or sprite-like look. His miniatures, on ivory and generally small, are especially attractive. Subjects were often an engaged couple who, as tokens of affection, exchanged likenesses with each other. It should be noted that most of the numerous likenesses of prominent military figures at Washington's headquarters at Valley Forge and of members of the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, were miniatures, as canvas and painting materials for pictures in-the-large were difficult to obtain. Life portraits of Washington by Peale, painted at various periods of the subject's life, are among the best likenesses of the General; Sellers has traced 57 originals and copies by Peale of them.

Political sympathies played quite a part in the selection of Peale as a painter in both his Revolutionary and Federal periods. Always a liberal, or leftist, in his political views, it was creditors affiliated with the Conservative or Proprietary party in Annapolis who, resentful of young Peale's association with the Sons of Liberty, had made it wise for him to leave Annapolis in such a hurry in 1765, and to take a sea voyage to New England. But there were also powerful leaders in the Proprietary party who did not take these tendencies too seriously, and who were friendly, and helped him to pay off his debts, so as to insure his safe return to Annapolis.

A year or two later, in 1767, a group of prominent Marylanders, principally Annapolitans, made up of men of both political parties, impressed with Peale's artistic talent, and kindly disposed to the lovable young artist, contributed to a purse of 82 guineas to send him to London to study painting. These were Charles Carroll, the Barrister (the largest contributor), John Beale Bordley, Gov. Horatio Sharpe, Daniel Dulany, Robert Lloyd, Benedict Calvert, Thomas Sprigg, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Benjamin Tasker, Thomas Ringgold, and Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer. The good use to which this money was put has been told.

With the rising Revolutionary tide, public opinion caught up with Peale's political sympathies and we find him, near the opening of the Revolution, painting in Maryland portraits of prominent persons affiliated with the Proprietary Party, such as Governor Robert Eden and his family. But in Philadelphia after the Revolution, Peale's political liberalism and ardent democracy did not ingratiate him with certain prominent families, especially those with former strong Tory sympathies or those who were later very ardent Federalists; the names of few of these appear in the list of his later patrons.

In Maryland, however, political considerations after the Revolution seem to have played little part as affecting Peale's artistic career. He was personally welcome in the homes of the most important and influential

Maryland families, although it must be noted that his attempts to take as his second wife a young lady of the aristocratic and powerful Tilghman clan of the Eastern Shore was unsuccessful and met with a stern rebuke from Major Richard Tilghman of "Grosses," whose sister Molly he unsuccessfully, sought to marry.

When one runs over the list of the subjects of Peale's portraits painted after the Revolution on his various visits to Annapolis, Baltimore, and the Eastern Shore, we have what is virtually a social register of Maryland aristocracy of the period. Without pretending to give the names of more than a very few of such families whose members he painted, we find among them such names as Bordley, Brice, Calvert, Carroll, Chase, Gittings, Goldsborough, Hanson, Howard, Kerr, Lloyd, Nicholson, Paca, Plater, Randall, Rogers, Smallwood, Stone, Swan, Tilghman, and Waggaman, all very prominent in both the political and social life of Maryland.

Charles Willson Peale's relative standing among American painters of the Revolutionary period and the immediate decade which followed, is considered by many qualified critics to be outstanding. It must be remembered, however, that both Copley and West at this time were to be considered as British painters and that Gilbert Stuart was not in America between 1775 and 1792. Both Peale and John Trumbull have ardent advocates in their respective biographers, Sellers for Peale and Theodore Sizer for Trumbull, the former styling Peale as "The Artist of the Revoluation" and Sizer calling Trumbull "Artist of the American Revolution." Each author has a basis for his claim. Peale painted from life during the Revolutionary period in Philadelphia, at Valley Forge, and elsewhere, more notables, military and political, than did Trumbull, while the latter in the early nineties, traveling feverishly up and down the coast, painted numerous "heads," drawings and minatures, of a large number of outstanding Revolutionary characters as well as those of much lesser importance, to be used later in the large historical paintings of Revolutionary events which he painted at the close of the 18th century and the first decades of the 19th. The writer is disposed to favor the claim of "Revolutionary Artist," in the Sellers sense, for Peale.

J. Hall Pleasants

Historic Montgomery County, Maryland, Old Homes and History. By Roger Brooke Farquhar. Silver Spring: The Author, 1952. x, 373 pp. $8.

Roger Brooke Farquhar, like many Marylanders, has been absorbed with the history of his State, and particularly his county, for a lifetime. Unlike most of the others with the same proclivities, Mr. Farquhar has carried his interests to a conclusion. He has written and published a book—*Historic Montgomery County, Maryland, Old Homes and History.* Dedicated to the Montgomery County Historical Society, the book's appearance coincides

with the 175th anniversary of the county's founding. Mr. Farquhar, whose ancestors came to Maryland in 1650, and to Montgomery county 225 years ago, has spent a lifetime in collecting the data and photographs which provided much of the material for the book.

Despite his passion for the history and legends of his ancestral realms, Mr. Farquhar has resisted the temptations (which he probably never had) to write a romanticized version of Montgomery county history. The author has written an objective account, placing the county in its proper context as part (one of the better parts is the impression given) of the whole, Maryland. Mr. Farquhar has let the record speak for itself. The reader, depending upon his degree of interest, can supply the romance in his reaction to the volume.

As a prelude to the stories of 130 old Montgomery county homes, Mr. Farquhar has written a brief history of the county, giving a vivid impression as to the changes wrought in an area once purely agricultural to one now undergoing rapid urbanization. In 1939 the county boasted 1,900 farms. In 1950 there were 1,550 farms. Between 1940 and 1950 there was a population increase from 83,912 to 164,401, a jump of 95.6 per cent. Despite this change, the county today ranks first in the State in the value of farms operated by their owners, and first in the value of livestock sold. The countians are also held to lead the State's 23 counties in the matter of per capita wealth.

The sketches of the old homes (plus nine in Georgetown, once a part of Montgomery county) benefit not only from the meticulous research on the part of the author, but from his lifetime acquaintanceship with the vast majority of the occupants.

Mr. Farquhar tells us his book started to shape up 24 years ago when he entered the real estate business and started writing brief sketches of the old homes as they came to his attention. Some of these stories have taken as long as three years to write as the author proved, and disproved, his facts. Not one to operate by remote control, Mr. Farquhar has visited the site of each home many times and has supplied the book with photographs or drawings of each house.

The book should prove a boon for reference use as well as for engendering an appreciation of his heritage in newcomer and oldtimer alike. It will indeed aid all those countians who wish to obey Governor McKeldin's dictum that they "think and act like Marylanders and not as mere suburbanites of Washington."

And since it is now quite as necessary (we are told) as well as fashionable to have "roots," Mr. Farquhar has supplied some of the means for the county's many newcomers in need of a hasty transplanting. At the same time, the book should aid in changing the diffidence of the long-time Marylander in reference to his past, to an attitude of polite interest, by providing the basis for a realistic evaluation of the past and the importance of preserving the visible remnants of this past now in our midst.

ROBERT G. BREEN

My Maryland. By A. AUBREY BODINE; introduction by NEIL H. SWANSON. Baltimore: Camera Magazine, 1952. $7.50.

Bodine, a photographer of national reputation, has been taking pictures in Maryland for 25 years at the rate of about a thousand a year. Out of his vast collection he has now selected 174 of the best and presented them in the form of a gift book, with end papers showing a cartoon map of the state by Richard Q. Yardley and an introduction by Neil H. Swanson. The work is thus a completely Maryland product, but its artistic quality lifts it above the parochial and makes it a contribution to Americana. Nothing could be a better gift to a friend who lives in some other state, for it is Bodine's genius to observe in the commonplace elements of beauty that escape the inartistic eye. The picturesque quality of the Chesapeake Bay and of the mountain country in Western Maryland are too plain to be missed by anyone; but those who have been accustomed to regard Baltimore city as drably monotonous are in for a surprise, since it shows up in these pages as a glamorous, sometimes—as under a snowfall, or sparkling at night—a fairy-like place. To have employed the precision of the camera to turn dull Baltimore into something like Ilion of the topless towers, or gorgeous Samarkand, or stately Camelot, is magic indeed; but Mr. Bodine has done it.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

My Dear Brother. A Confederate Chronicle. Compiled and edited by CATHERINE THOM BARTLETT. Richmond: Dietz Press, 1952. xiii, 224 pp. $5.

So much has been written about the battles and leaders of the Civil War that the subjects have been well nigh exhausted. A happy departure in recent years is the turn toward the warriors of lesser rank and to the experiences of the civilian population. This has been made possible through the discovery of family letters that for years have been lying hidden in trunks and attics.

Mrs. Bartlett's work falls in this class. The chief source is the correspondence of the family of Col. John Triplett Thom, of Berry Hill, Culpeper county, Virginia. He was a son of Alexander Thom, a Scotsman of the Clan Cameron who supported Charles Edward Stewart in 1745 and fled to this country after the disastrous battle of Culloden. Col. Thom was a man of prominence in public affairs, a cultivated country gentleman in affluent circumstances and a slaveholder.

The Colonel, who was twice married, had four sons and four daughters. They scattered to other parts of Virginia, to the far south and even to California. Most of the letters were written by them or by the children of Reuben Thom, a brother of John Triplett who lived in Fredericksburg. The correspondence begins in the 1830s and reaches a climax during the Civil War. The earlier letters reveal interesting sidelights on life in the

South in the days before the war. It is a simple human record of births, deaths, and marriages and their attendant problems, which is all the more appealing because it is typical of so many other families.

A number of the Thoms served in the Confederate forces. Among these was Dr. J. Pembroke Thom who, after the war, came to Baltimore to live and established the family here. The letters of this period reflect the intense patriotism of the Virginians of the time and their complete confidence in the ultimate success of the Southern cause. It was not until the very close of the war that they came to realize the magnitude of the disaster of which they were the victims.

Mrs. Bartlett has done much more than edit the letters. She describes the people who wrote them and the background against which they are written. In the appendix are several pages of Thom genealogy conveniently placed for reference. Thanks to these provisions she has been most successful in presenting the reader with a clear picture of a somewhat complicated family. Hers is both an appealing story and a valuable contribution to the social history of the ante-bellum south and the Civil War period.

FRANCIS F. BEIRNE

The Letters of William Gilmore Simms, Volume I, 1830-1844. Collected and Edited by MARY C. SIMMS OLIPHANT, ALFRED TAYLOR ODELL, T. C. DUNCAN EAVES. Columbia: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1952. cliii, 456 pp. $8.50.

Collectors and librarians who garner old letters and scholars who edit them for publication deserve the gratitude of posterity, for they give us source material of unique value. Particularly useful are letters that are newsy rather than essay-like or introspective and that reflect an active, not to say passionate, interest in affairs. Such is the correspondence of William Gilmore Simms (1806-1870) native of Charleston, South Carolina, author of a whole shelf of popular romances and poems, now nearly all out of print, and much miscellaneous and journalistic writing.

Of the 224 letters in Volume I, ten are travel sketches written for publication in the spring of 1831, while their author was making a leisurely journey by stagecoach and steamboat across Georgia and Alabama to Mobile and thence to New Orleans. The majority of the others represent an active correspondence with James Lawson (1799-1880) of New York City, Scotland-born business man and author and for some forty years perhaps the closest friend Simms had outside of his family circle. These letters are full of personal news and literary gossip, and often throw light on South Carolina politics, including the violent controversy in 1833 over Nullification, which Simms opposed to the point of being in danger of mob violence.

After his second marriage in November, 1836, Simms spent his summers

in Charleston and winters at "Woodlands" on the Edisto River, where his father-in-law Nash Roach owned extensive acreage. Thereafter his letters, still primarily devoted to literary matters and politics, include also glimpses of plantation life.

This first volume is competently edited and printed. It justifies the expectation that the future volumes, which will include the years of debate on secession, which Simms defended as resolutely as he had objected to the principle of nullification; and which will presumably deal with the activities of the Russell's Bookshop Group, will be even more interesting.

JOHN C. FRENCH

The Johns Hopkins University

Foreigners in The Union Army and Navy. By ELLA LONN. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, [1952]. ix, 725 pp. $8.50.

Foreigners in The Union Army and Navy is the companion volume to *Foreigners in The Confederacy* by the same author.

Unless one has been particularly interested in the foreign-born, he may have failed to recognize the large contribution made during our Civil War by those who had adopted the United States of their free will. On a quantity basis alone the foreign-born were important. Beyond strong backs and willing hearts, they not infrequently brought experience gained in the military schools and battlefields of Europe. In 1861 the United States Army stood in great need of experienced officers to whip a mass of willing volunteers—both native and foreign-born—into dependable army units. Recognition of European experience came quickly and commissions were promptly offered. Whether in the ranks or in command, men of foreign names poured out their blood on fields from Missouri to Virginia.

Perhaps some will be surprised to learn that occasionally women accompanied their men into danger and sometimes, indeed, took their places on the firing line.

Minor mistakes appear such as "Pope's Peninsular campaign of 1862" on page 197 and Hunter's advance "down the Shenandoah Valley" on page 188. On page 275 one finds both A. D. Mann and Dudley A. Mann. More important is the brevity of the index. Spot checking shows names in the text not found in the index: *i. e.*, John Brown and Gabriel Korponay on Pages 339 and 684 respectively. For a book so largely devoted to biography an index of fifteen pages is inadequate.

The author did a prodigious lot of work preparing the thumbnail sketches of her subjects and will make many her debtors. In many notes and references she points to sources in English and several other languages that may be of use to those seeking further study of special favorites. Students of military history will find delight in new lights thrown on old

acquaintances. If anyone feels the need to take up cudgels for the immigrant, here he finds a veritable arsenal at hand. The general reader, too, is debtor to the author for her work in assembling in convenient form and easy compass sketches of so many who risked their lives that "government of the people . . . [should] not perish from the earth."

THEODORE M. WHITFIELD

Western Maryland College

The Railroads of the Confederacy. By ROBERT C. BLACK III. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1952. xiv, 360 pp. $6.

The heroes of this volume are not the traditional generals but the railroads of the Confederacy, or, as the author prefers to designate them collectively, "The Iron Horse."

Every schoolboy knows the story of how General Sherman's "bummers" tore up the railroads on their March to the Sea, how they twisted the rails, rendered red-hot in the fires of the cross-ties, around tree trunks, and how terrific a blow he thereby delivered to the South. It contributes to our clearer understanding to have the importance of the Confederate railroads pointed out. We know how vital a rôle the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad played in the transport of Union soldiers to the western theater after Gettysburg. Our author tells of the swift transfer of Bragg's army in July, 1862, from northwestern Mississippi to Chattanooga by a long detour via Mobile and Atlanta. It looks like trying to figure out the longest distance between two points, but placed 25,000 men where they were needed.

Again, we learn of the sudden movement of Longstreet's Corps of about 12,000 men from Virginia to Bragg's army in the longest, most famous troop movement in Confederate history. About 6,000 arrived to influence the fighting at Chickamauga on September 20, 1863.

The titles to some of the chapters are dramatic and alluring, as "Steam Cars to Glory," "The Iron Horse Stumbles," and "The Treasure Hunt for Iron." This even extends to some of the numerous illustrations, where the picture of a locomotive, abandoned at the evacuation of Atlanta, bears the caption, "A Prisoner of War." The author has furnished some thirteen detail maps to accompany the text. Of particular value is a large, folding map at the rear, which was constantly used by this reviewer.

There is some repetition in regard to costs and railroad tariffs (pp. 39, 218); accidents (pp. 34-35, 91-92, 220-222, 250); and taxes (pp. 92, 131-132, 220).

The conclusions are eminently sound and justified by the study.

ELLA LONN

American History and American Historians. By H. HALE BELLOT. Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1952. xii, 336 pp. $4.

American History and American Historians is an unusual and valuable book written by an English scholar who is Professor of American History in the University of London. What Professor Bellot attempts is a brief survey of United States history as it has been interpreted and reinterpreted by American historians during the last sixty years.

Most of these historians, the author believes, belong to what he calls the Middle Western school of Mississippi Valley historians. Distinctively American in its point of view, this group, better known to American students as the Turner or frontier school, succeeded Henry Adams and the late 19th century historians who were largely responsible for the elevation of history to a "science" in this country. The Middle Western school, starting with a hypothesis or premise which they proposed to prove or disprove, represented a reaction to the European or scientific school which had come to dominate the teaching of history in the larger universities of the East, such as Johns Hopkins, Columbia, and Cornell.

After an introductory chapter in which he traces the conflicting points of view of these two schools of historical thought, Professor Bellot devotes the remainder of his book to showing how the writings of the Middle Western school have in particular affected the interpretation of the major events and periods of American history. Detailed, critical bibliographies follow each chapter, and a list of works cited, as well as several sketch maps, are added at the close of the volume.

One criticism, which is perhaps unfair, but which indicates the limits of the book, is that there is little analysis of individual works or of individual historians. A second and more serious criticism is the author's almost complete lack of attention to social and intellectual history and the important works in this field. But these criticisms are not intended to detract from what remains a highly useful volume, which should prove especially valuable to students and teachers. Finally, it should be noted that *American History,* though published in the United States, has been printed in Great Britain to avoid the outrageous costs prevailing in this country.

ARTHUR A. EKIRCH, JR.

American University

Roosevelt and Daniels. A Friendship in Politics. Edited by CARROLL KILPATRICK. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1952. xvi, 226 pp. $3.50.

Here is a distinguished addition to the already long list of Roosevelt books. In it are found most of the letters exchanged between F. D. R. and his "Chief," Josephus Daniels. The actual words written and opinions expressed at given times buttress the Daniels story available in

his multi-volume autobiography and supply more grist to him who will someday write the biography of Roosevelt. Kilpatrick has done a satisfactory, unobtrusive editorial job. The reader has no doubt that the omitted letters are repetitious and unessential. The index is quite brief.

There are several Maryland connotations. Daniels and Roosevelt first met in Baltimore at the 1912 Democratic National Convention. Congressman J. Fred C. Talbott of Maryland proposed "Towson" as a name for a cruiser; Roosevelt confessed to Daniels that he had never heard of the town before. A letter of 1938 refers to the senatorial contest in Maryland.

Of nearly as much interest as the letters themselves are the circumstances involved in their publication. Daniels, who served in the Cleveland, Wilson, and Roosevelt administrations, died in his 80s in 1948. Within the space of eight months his four sons had formally presented, gathered, and sent the Daniels Papers to the Library of Congress.* The reviewer had the dusty privilege, under able supervision, of opening and examining the five and a half ton shipment. In keeping with Daniels' spirit the bulk of the papers were opened to inspection by scholars four months after receipt. And this book, the first of many to come out of the Daniels Papers, is a suitable tribute to the friendship of the gentleman from North Carolina and his associate from New York.

F. S.

Let Justice Be Done. By JAMES MORFIT MULLEN. New York: Dorrance, 1952. vii, 371 pp. $3.50.

A publisher is said to have once remarked that three kinds of manuscripts submitted to him could be counted on to interest readers; namely, books about doctors, books about dogs, and books about Edgar Allan Poe. One wonders whether a fourth to this extremely diverse trio might not be books about lawyers, for as Arthur Train and others have made clear, the vagaries of the law can make good reading. Mr. Mullen has made a readable book out of the reminiscences of a lifetime of general law practice chiefly in Baltimore. Writing for laymen he contrives to include much incidental information about legal traditions, and in a running personal narrative to portray the local color of the interaction of judges, counselors, and clients. Readers who are familiar with the history of Baltimore for half a century will particularly enjoy his treatment of events and personalities in the Free State as they have known it.

JOHN C. FRENCH

The Johns Hopkins University

* The details together with a keen analysis of the Papers are found in Katharine E. Brand, "The Josephus Daniels Papers," *Library of Congress Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions*, 7 (August, 1950), 3-10.

The Dresses of the First Ladies of the White House. By MARGARET W. BROWN. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1952. 149 pp. $8.25.

Probably one of the most popular exhibits in the United States National Museum is that of dresses of the First Ladies of the White House. The photographic reproductions of the dresses in this attractive little book will give anyone who has not seen the show cases a remarkably good idea of the contents. Those who have been fortunate enough to see them will relive an interesting experience. Each photograph is accompanied by a short biography of the First Lady, that is, whoever acted as White House hostess during each administration. Although the biographies seem somewhat biased in favor of the ladies, they are interesting and informative. Pictures—mostly photographs of the ladies and of paintings of them—and detailed descriptions of the dresses which feminine readers will enjoy, complete the book.

The Pioneer Jews of Utah. By LEON L. WATTERS. (Studies in American Jewish History, Number 2). New York: American Jewish Historical Society, 1952. vii, 199 pp. $2.50.

The first Jewish family to come to Salt Lake City as permanent residents arrived in 1854. With the opening of economic life in the West more followed, but the Jews never formed a very extensive proportion of the population in Utah. Their story, however, is an interesting one and is well told by the son of one of the early Jewish pioneers.

The relationship of the Jews in Salt Lake City to the Mormons was unique in history, for they were regarded as "Gentiles" in the Mormon community. The Mormons believed that they themselves were the true descendants of an ancient Israelite tribe and were reestablishing Zion on the shores of the American Dead Sea. Brigham Young and his followers, however, were friendly towards the Jews and in 1916 helped elect a Jew as governor of the State of Utah.

To write his story, Watters collected data bearing on the subject for some fifty years, examined the files of many libraries, secured personal reminiscences from many of the pioneers while they were alive, and added to the whole his own recollections. From the amount of the personal narrative of pioneers which he includes in his lengthy biographical appendix, this study by Watters forms a documentray source book in addition to being a history.

F. C. H.

Washington's Official Map of Yorktown. Washington: National Archives, 1952. 5 pp. $.75.

The "plan of Attack & Defence" for the battle of Yorktown to which General Washington referred in a dispatch on Oct. 29, 1781, was long thought to have been lost. It has finally been identified as the map now in the possession of the National Archives that was made by Gouvion, Lt. Col. of Engineers, and dated Oct. 29, 1781. A superb duplication of this map with a brief historical statement to accompany it has been prepared and issued as Facsimile No. 21 by the National Archives.

Washington's Inaugural Address of 1789. Washington: National Archives, 1952. 14 pp. $.75.

For No. 22 of its Facsimile series, the National Archives has reproduced the reading copy of the first presidential inauguration address delivered by Washington at Federal Hall in New York City. Several pages of text describe the setting of the event and discuss the question of the speech's authorship. The copy here reproduced is in Washington's handwriting and is now in the Senate Records of the National Archives.

Historical Editing. By CLARENCE E. CARTER. (Bulletins of the National Archives, No. 7.) Washington: 1952. 50 pp. $.20.

One of the most eminent of American editors of historical documents has taken time from his editing to outline for the initiate his principles and practises in historical editing. Dr. Carter analyzes the various steps involved in the publication of documents from the search for material to the make-up of the volume. He discusses many technical problems which arise at each step and adds helpful comments drawn from his own experience and knowledge. Throughout the bulletin he urges the rigorous accuracy which has been characteristic of his own work. Anyone interested in historical editing will enjoy reading Dr. Carter's well-written bulletin.

A Checklist of South Carolina State Publications. Columbia: 1952. 19 pp.

The Historical Commission of South Carolina and its energetic director, J. H. Easterby, have published in this pamphlet the first of an annual series of short title checklists of official state publications. Competently done, the checklist is an invaluable, if unspectacular, tool for those interested in the state.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

* *The Colonial Craftsman.* By CARL BRIDENBAUGH. New York Univ. Press, 1950. xii, 214 pp.

Virginia Wills Before 1799. By W. M. CLEMENS. Baltimore, 1952. 107 pp.

* *American Furniture.* By JOSEPH DOWNS. New York, Macmillan, 1952.

* *Early Wedgwood Pottery.* London, 1951. 110 pp.

* *Old English Porcelain.* By W. B. HONEY. New York, McGraw-Hill, [1946?]. 292 pp.

List of Business Manuscripts in Baker Library. Compiled by ROBERT W. LOVETT. Boston, 1951. v, 213 pp.

* *Furnishing the Colonial and Federal House.* By NANCY MCCLELLAND. Philadelphia, Lippincott, [1947]. 173 pp.

Airfield and Base Development. Edited by GEORGE A. MEIDLING. (Vol. VI of *Engineers of the Southwest Pacific.*) Washington, 1951. xxii, 559 pp.

Bits and Pieces of American History. By IRVING S. OLDS. New York, 1951, xxv, 463 pp.

The Story of Tobacco in America. By JOSEPH C. ROBERT. New York, Knopf, 1952. xiii, 296 pp.

Fine Points of Furniture: Early American. By ALBERT SACK. New York, Crown Publishers, 1950. xvi, 303 pp.

Western Pioneering. By GALEN L. TAIT. [Baltimore, 1952] 58 pp.

Handbook of American Silver and Pewter Marks. By C. J. THORN. New York, Tudor Publishing Co., [1949]. xii, 289 pp.

Slavery and 'The Woman Question.' By FREDERICK B. TOLLES. Haverford, Pa., Friends' Historical Association, 1952. 86 pp.

Paintings From America. By JOHN WALKER. Penguin Books, 1951. 45 pp.

* *Practical Book of American Silver.* By EDWARD WENHAM. Philadelphia, Lippincott, [1949]. xvii, 275 pp.

* Passano Fund Purchase.

NOTES AND QUERIES

SOME NOTES ON "HUGH JONES, COLONIAL ENIGMA."

Upon reading the Reverend Nelson Rightmyer's note in the September's *Maryland Historical Magazine* (XLVII, 263-264) on the Reverend Herbert Leswing's paper, "Hugh Jones, Colonial Enigma" (which I have read also), I am sending the following note for those admirers of the Hugh Jones of Cecil County who do not have convenient access to the *William and Mary Quarterly*.

The first person to call attention to the puzzling confusion of the three Hugh Joneses was the Reverend R. H. Murphy of Glyndon, Maryland, formerly rector for fourteen years of Christ Church Parish in Calvert County, Maryland. Mr. Murphy discovered the existence of two Hugh Joneses who served that parish, and referred to their respective wills. He rightly concluded that former writers had confused these two Joneses with each other and with a third Hugh Jones, the rector of North Sassafras Parish in Cecil County Maryland (author of *The Present State of Virginia*). *William and Mary Quarterly,* X (1901-1902), 202-203.

Dr. Grace Warren Landrum, acting on the information furnished by Mr. Murphy, threw further light on the enigma in her article, "Which Hugh Jones?" *William and Mary Quarterly,* 2d Series, XXII (1943), 474-492. The chief purpose of Dean Landrum's article was to establish the identity of the Hugh Jones who wrote *The Present State of Virginia* and taught at the College of William and Mary with the Hugh Jones of Cecil County, Maryland, and to separate the Hugh Joneses of Maryland. Though she found no definitive solution to the problem and though erring in some details, she gave very convincing circumstancial evidence of a solution to the problem.

Hugh Jones has long been a subject of much interest to me. I have now completed my manuscript for a new edition of his *The Present State of Virginia* with an introduction giving an account of its author's life. As a by-product of this study I published "The Reverend Hugh Jones, Lord Baltimore's Mathematician" in the *William and Mary Quarterly* of January, 1950 (3rd Series, VII, 107-115).

In this work I found the missing link needed to prove definitely that the Hugh Jones who was the distinguished rector of Cecil County, Maryland, was the same Hugh Jones who had taught at the College of William and Mary and had written *The Present State of Virginia.* This information is given in a deposition made by Hugh Jones in the suit between the proprietaries of Maryland and Pennsylvania over the boundary. A copy of

that part of the lawyer's breviate of Jones's statement about himself is given in my article mentioned above, which Mr. Leswing cites in his manuscript.

Since the publication of that article I have found a manuscript copy of Jones's deposition itself in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Although the brief is fairly complete, there is a satisfaction in having the deposition just as Jones made it. It is here published with the consent of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

"Hugh Jones of Cecil County Clerk aged forty nine years or thereabouts, one of the Com'ts in the comicon hereto . . . named, being sworn and Examined as a Witness on the part and behalf of the Defendent. . . . Saith that he has been acquainted with the Defendent about Seven Years but knows not any of the Complainants . . . that he has been Conversant in the Mathematicks and Esteems himself in some Measure Skilled in them that he Learnt Arithmetick at School, Studied Geometry Geography and Astronomy in the University of Oxford, where having taken the Degrees of Batchellor and Master of Arts, at Jesus Colledge, he was recommended by then principle of the said Colledge, Doctor Win Bishop of St. Asaph, to Doctor Robinson, the then Bishop of London, who advised the Deponent to perfect himself, as well as time would allow, in the Mathematicks for that his Lordship Intended to Send him over to the Colledge of William and Mary in Virginia, as professor of the Mathematicks, Application having been made to him, as Chancellor of the said Colledge, by the Visitors of it. That, thereupon, the Deponent Applied himself to the Study of Algebra (which he had not applied himself to before) under the Instrucion of Mr. Hudson of Christ Church, and was Admitted Professor of Mathematicks in the Colledge of William and Mary aforesaid, in the Year Seventeen Hundred and Seventeen and Continued Studying and teaching the Mathematicks there til the Year Seventeen Hundred and Twenty-One, and has made it his occasional Study ever since. . . . That he has been, often, in Ten of the Twelve Counties under the Government of Maryland, and knows several Places in Each of them, and has known the same about twenty Years: fourteen of which he has resided in Maryland. That he has known the County of Newcastle about eight Years, but is Unacquainted with Kent upon Delaware and Sussex. That, for upwards of Eight Years Last past, he has been Minister of a Parish, Contiguous to Newcastle County, and has had frequent Occasion to go to Newcastle." This deposition, "taken in the conference room" at Annapolis is in a manuscript volume, Penn *v.* Baltimore, Depositions, Annapolis, 1740, 1-16 (Lib. fol. 4., Int. 7, fol. 5).

RICHARD L. MORTON,
College of William and Mary,
Williamsburg, Va.

Baltimore Clippers—A little more light on how Baltimore shipbuilders in the past supplied shipowners in the West Indies with fast vessels was shed by an old document recently uncovered. It is a bill of sale for the schooner *Infant Patriot* dated at Baltimore on September 13, 1794. It conveys from William Price, shipbuilder, of "Baltimore Town Ship," whose yard was at 13 and 14 Pitt Street, Fells Point, to Peirre Santel of St. Domingo, Merchant, the pilot schooner, *Infant Patriot,* forty feet, three inches "straight Rabbet" (length of keel), sixteen feet beam and six feet, five inches "hold" (depth of hold inside), measuring about forty three tons and forty seven ninety fifths of a ton, "together with her masts and spars as she now lays in the Port of Baltimore." The price named in the document is 375 pounds "current money of Maryland."

The *Infant Patriot* is described as a new schooner, and therefore the term "pilot schooner" does not imply that she was actually built for pilot service. The fast schooners built at Baltimore and elsewhere on the Chesapeake were first termed Virginia-built or pilot-built and were not designated Baltimore Clippers until the War of 1812. There were no Virginia or Maryland pilots' associations in those days. There were a large number of independent pilots, and the first to reach an inbound vessel got the job. Speed and weatherliness were prime requisites, and it was for those qualities that the Baltimore shipwrights strove. So successful were they in attaining their objectives, that large numbers of their vessels were sold to the West Indies for trading, slaving, and even piracy. The British Navy was equally aware of these qualities and took over most of those captured in the wars as fast dispatch vessels. So many of them had shown the British men-of-war a clean pair of heels that they claimed the reluctant admiration of our erstwhile enemies. The famous Baltimore privateer, Captain Boyle, used to tease and infuriate the British cruisers by allowing them to get just within gunshot, then running away from them, and repeat the performance until tired of the sport.

WILLIAM CALVERT STEUART,
Baltimore.

Randolph—The attention of our readers is called to an article by Russell Kirk, "Randolph of Roanoke and the Mind of the South," which appears in the September, 1952, issue of the British publication *History Today,* pp. 632-640. In this article Kirk extends the thesis of his book *Randolph of Roanoke* (reviewed *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XLVII [1952], 157-158) that Randolph was the Edmund Burke of America and he makes some general observations on the role of conservative polity in the South.

Artist-travellers in South America—Am gathering documentation for a complete bibliography on this subject. Request information concerning letters or documents by or about artist-travellers as well as original drawings, paintings, and prints done in South America.

DAVID JAMES,
Brown University, Providence 12, R. I.

Rogers—Wish to know where in Baltimore Joseph Rogers or Rodgers and his wife Mary Ann Sturgeon are interred. They came from Newcastle, Del., to Baltimore about 1820.

W. J. STURGIS,
370 Park Ave., New York City.

Autobiography of Samuel Smith—Where is the original of Smith's autobiography or a copy of it? Part of this document was published in *The Historical Magazine*, edited by H. B. Dawson, issues of February and April, 1870. *Any* information concerning this document will be appreciated by the editors.

Smith, Samuel—Mr. Pancake and the editors wish to acknowledge assistance granted to him by the University Research Committee of the University of Alabama in the preparation of his article, "Baltimore and the Embargo" (Sept., 1952, pp. 173-187).

Talbot, Sir Wm. (Nephew of 2d Lord Baltimore)—Any information concerning his immediate ancestors and descendants will be appreciated by

Col. ROBERT H. FLETCHER,
1921 24th St., N. W., Washington 8, D. C.

Trego Family—Am trying to find names of parents of James Trego (b. 1780?) in Pa. Wife's name, Lilly. They moved to Ross Co., Ohio, about 1800, where he bought land. Had 5 chn. by 1st wife: Nancy Catherine, Martha Ann. Mary Jane, Hosea, and one name unknown. After

the death of wife Lilly, he married Rebecca Ralston, 1825, and they had chn. James, Samuel and Andrew. James Trego died in 1830. It is thought he came to Ohio from Lancaster Co., Pa.

Does anyone know where the unpublished MS of a second book (first vol. publ. 1884) on Trego family by Dr. A. Trego Shertzer may be?

MILDRED CHAMBERS,
4122 Eleventh Ave., Los Angeles 8, Calif.

Wiesenthal—The Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland (1212 Cathedral Street, Baltimore 1) would appreciate information on direct descendents of Dr. Charles Frederick Wiesenthal (1726-1789) who immigrated in or before 1755 and became one of the first outstanding physicians in Baltimore.

Back Issues—The Society always welcomes the return of any and all back issues of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* that members may not wish to retain.

CONTRIBUTORS

MISS RICH, a Baltimorean and author of two volumes of poems, was graduated from Radcliffe College and is now studying at Oxford University. ☆ For some years Associate Editor of the *William and Mary Quarterly,* MRS. LATIMER is now Assistant Editor, Engineering Experiment Station, University of Illinois. ☆ A previous contributor, MR. CARROLL is now teaching at Southern Methodist University. ☆ MRS. MISH is a former president of the Washington County Historical Society and an assiduous student of Western Maryland history.

INDEX TO VOLUME XLVII

Names of authors and titles of papers and original documents printed in the *Magazine* are set in capitals. Titles of books reviewed or cited are in italics.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933,

Of Maryland Historical Magazine, published quarterly at Baltimore 1, Maryland, for December. 1951.

State of Maryland, City of Baltimore, ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Fred Shelley, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of the Maryland Historical Magazine, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:

Publisher, Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore 1, Md. Editor, Fred Shelley, same. Managing Editor, same. Business Manager, James W. Foster, same.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore 1
(non-profit cultural, educational and historical institution)
George L. Radcliffe, President.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)

None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security stockholders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, held stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

FRED SHELLEY,
Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of September, 1952.

WALTER M. WILHIDE,
Notary Public.

(My commission expires May 4, 1953.) [SEAL]

FOR SALE BY THE SOCIETY

Prices include postage but not Maryland sales tax

Maryland in World War II: Vol. I, Military. By H. R. Manakee. 1950	$ 3.25
Maryland in World War II: Vol. II, Industry and Agriculture. By H. R. Manakee. 1951	3.25
The Maryland Press, 1777-1790. By Joseph T. Wheeler. 1938	4.20
Calendar of Otho Holland Williams Papers. By Elizabeth Merritt (mimeographed, paper covers). 1940	2.75
History of Queen Anne's County. By Frederick Emory. 1950	7.75
Barbara Frietschie. By Dorothy M. and W. R. Quynn. 1945. 45 pages	1.10
Old Wye Church, Talbot County, Maryland. By Elizaheth Merritt. 1949	.55
Portraits Painted before 1900 in the Collections of the Maryland Historical Society. By A. W. Rutledge. 1946	1.00
Portraits in Varied Media in the Collections of the Maryland Historical Society. By A. W. Rutledge. 1946	.60
St. Mémin in Maryland. Loan Exhibition of Portraits. 1951. (Illustrated)	.50
Amelung glass. An Exhibition. 1952. 20 pages (illustrated)	1.00
Sailing Craft of the Chesapeake Bay. 1951. (Illustrated folder)	.10
Maryland Bibliography. 1951. (Books and pamphlets on Maryland themes that appeared in that year.) 1952. 7 pages	.40
Descendants of Richard and Elizabeth (Ewen) Talbot of . . . West River. Compiled by Ida M. Shirk. 1927	15.20
The Sweetser Family of Maryland. By Lester D. Gardner. 9 pages	.50
Chronicles of Mistress Margaret Brent. By Mary E. W. Ramey. 1915. 12 pages	.60
Pioneers of the Early Days of Westminster. By Mary B. Shellman. 1924. 32 pages	.50
Warner & Hanna's Plan of . . . Baltimore, 1801. Republished in color. 1947	5.25
Map of Virginia and Maryland. By Augustine Herrman. London, 1673. Facsimile reprint by John Carter Brown Library. 1941. 4 sheets	6.50